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Bosnia-Hercegovina—Belgrade radio reports UN envoy Cyrus Vance has concluded talks with President Alija Izetbegovic in Sarajevo. Vance "confirmed" that the headquarters of the UN forces would be in Sarajevo and that "between 200 and 300" members of the force would arrive "next week." Meanwhile, TANJUG reports that the National Defense Council of Pale Municipality denied rumors of an intent to attack Sarajevo. In a message the council states that the citizens of Pale "have no intention of attacking anybody. It is obvious that the purveyors of chaos are trying to conceal the godfathers of our mutual misfortune on the day when the UN officials are visiting Sarajevo."

Macedonia—In an interview with DELO, President Kiro Gligorov commented on Greek pressure, and relations with other republics. When asked about German Foreign Minister Genscher's proposal that the republic be renamed the "New Macedonian Republic" to "smooth over" the Macedonian-Greek dispute, Gligorov responded that "we have not yet received an official proposal for such a renaming. I do not see this as a solution."

Poland

The Sejm deliberated and rejected a resolution on the government's 1992 socioeconomic policy, Warsaw radio reports. Afterwards, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski gave a news conference at which he confirmed that the government does not intend to resign as a result of the "ambiguous" vote in the Sejm. "The socioeconomic guidelines are the only government program, and the draft budget is to be worked out on this basis by 23 March," Olszewski stated. If the Sejm fails to adopt the budget, "the government will then resign," according to Olszewski.

The Democratic Union (UD) feels that the government's proposal "ought to be rejected" because the government stance "creates a crisis on a statewide level." The UD called for "holding political consultations, and for all political forces to create a new government." The Solidarity National Commission Presidium examined the government's socioeconomic policy during a meeting in Gdansk on 4 March, PAP reports. Solidarity activists claim that the government assumptions "do not include concrete proposals concerning measures counteracting recession and efficient solutions in regard to unemployment." "Solidarity will be forced to support the social protest by announcing a general strike or to give its consent to issue additional bank notes and thus to increase the scale of inflation."

Bulgaria

Finance Minister Ivan Kostov issued a statement claiming that the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of Finance do not want to stop the publication of newspapers affected by the Confiscation Act of 13 December 1991, Sofia radio reports. "The psychosis that has developed on this issue is caused by ignorance..." Kostov explained that property will be seized, but will be leased back to the newspapers. The 1992 subscriptions and money will remain at the editorial boards' disposal.

Country Attempts To Control 'Tense' Situation

Looting Continues in Librazhd

AU0503202092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Esat Cucllari report]

[Text] Yesterday evening was the fourth consecutive evening on which groups of people, always at about 1730 GMT, attacked the retail warehouses in Librazhd. In the course of many appeals from the forces of order to disperse, the crowds occasionally drew back but then moved nearer, throwing stones and other objects. Again they were able to enter and plunder the warehouses. The police, using force and firing into the air, could not cope with them and only succeeded in dispersing the crowd at about 2000 when Rapid Deployment Forces from Elbasan came to their aid. During the attempts to reestablish order, one policeman was struck in the head by a solid object and is now hospitalized in serious condition.

We stress that the value of the stolen goods is still not known. Criminal proceedings have begun against those delinquents who have been arrested. One warehouse employee is also being charged.

Bearing in the mind the tense situation that has persisted for the last four days, the Executive Committee, in cooperation with the district's political parties, trade unions, police, and justice officials, organized a meeting at which they identified failures in the retail enterprise's work as the cause for these events. It was decided to issue an appeal to the residents of the town and surrounding villages, asking people to dissociate themselves from the crowds of delinquents. An inspection commission was appointed to inventory the goods in the warehouses and place them on the market for sale. The enterprise's managers were also present at the meeting, and were asked to meet their staff and appeal to them to dissociate themselves from the delinquents.

Shkoder Health Workers Strike

AU0503195892 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1830 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] As has been reported from Shkoder, the city's health workers suspended work today and gathered in front of the building of the Pluralist District Executive Committee in protest against attacks on the health service and their institutions. Hooliganism continued throughout yesterday and last night, involving threats to the lives of patients and medical staff. Fuel from the ambulances was stolen, leading to a suspension of this service. Representatives of the health service met with officials of the Pluralist District Executive Committee, who promised measures to fulfill their demands within 24 hours. The health workers are continuing their strike until these demands are met.

Berisha Questioned on 'Political, Economic Chaos'

AU0403185992 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Feb 92 p 6

[Interview with Dr. Sali Berisha, leader of the Albanian Democratic Party, by Charles Lambroschini; place and date not given: "The Communists Are Destabilizing Albania"]

[Text] [Lambroschini] Albania has been plunged into political and economic chaos. The country can only keep going thanks to international humanitarian aid. Have you made the situation worse by leaving the coalition government, in which you cooperated with the Socialist Party—that is, the former communists?

[Berisha] It is true that the political situation is complicated and that the economic situation is catastrophic. The humanitarian aid is inadequate and is being distributed very badly. Recently, when the former prime minister announced that there was only enough food to last three days, people took to the streets. The former communists have opted for a strategy of destabilization. They are trying to show the Albanians that things were better in the past. They want to convince people that the opposition is responsible for the current situation, because it left the coalition.

[Lambroschini] What is your response to these accusations?

[Berisha] The government is controlled by the communists, and it does not want reform. The ministers who used to belong to the Communist Party are obstinate and inflexible. The land ownership issue can serve as an illustration. A Privatization Law was passed, but the communists are sabotaging the process of land distribution. They want power, and responsibility for the chaos that there is should be borne by my party, the Albanian Democratic Party. Our decision to leave the government was wise and historic. We were in the government for six months, and my only regret is that we did not leave it two months earlier.

[Lambroschini] Elections are to take place at the beginning of March. [as published] However, the country is so divided that it is not clear whether any party will obtain a majority. Should that be the case, would you consider joining a coalition government that would also include the communists?

[Berisha] Even if we were to obtain a majority, we would not create a one party government. The situation is too serious for that. A coalition with the participation of all democrats should be formed. We are ready to form an alliance with the Republican Party and the Social Democratic Party. We would also like the intellectuals who have no party affiliation to join us. This time, however, there is no question of forming a government with the participation of the communists. We have already tried that, and it was a failure.

[Lambroschini] If you win the elections, how do you intend to solve Albania's problems?

[Berisha] Today, the Albanians are in a state of despair. However, it should not be forgotten that Albania possesses regions in which tourism could be developed, agriculture, and many natural resources. We are among the world's leading producers of chrome, and we also have oil and copper. Under normal conditions, Albania could do without humanitarian aid. Our agriculture requires urgent assistance. There is a shortage of machinery, fertilizers, and seed. The EC should also understand that Albania must export a certain number of its citizens. There have been millions of Greek, Spanish, and Italian immigrants since 1945, but only a few hundred Albanians. Our European friends should accept Albanian immigrants. We cannot ensure that everyone has work. Currently, unemployment stands at 30 percent in Albania.

[Lambroschini] How much time would you allow yourself to institute all these changes?

[Berisha] Poverty is not the only cause of the despair that the Albanians feel; it is also a consequence of the disappointment that they experienced when, with access to Italian television, they saw what the world around them was like. They could compare their situation with the situation in other countries. They realized that the communists had cheated them: Albania is not a paradise on earth. If Albania solves its political problems, removes the communists from power, and eliminates corruption, it will be able to lead its economy onto the right path. Give us two to three years, and there will be a tangible improvement in the economic situation.

[Lambroschini] Does your program envisage purges?

[Berisha] No, if we start to seek revenge, Albania will never get to know democracy. Under the communists, there were thousands of people in the prisons, people who had been denounced, persecuted, and sentenced by thousands of other people. If all those who are guilty were to be punished, then Albania would have to be turned into one gigantic concentration camp. The widow of Enver Hoxha, the Albanian Stalin, is also in prison, but for financial, not political reasons.

[Lambroschini] Could you give us your analysis of the situation in Kosovo, the province of Yugoslavia where the Albanians, who constitute the ethnic majority, are being oppressed by the Serbs?

[Berisha] The Albanians in Yugoslavia are in a tragic situation. It is not only a question of the Albanians in Kosovo, because there are also Albanians in Macedonia and Montenegro, and so 3 million of my countrymen have found themselves living in the new states that are being formed on the ashes of Yugoslavia. The Albanians' right to self-determination must be recognized. I would be glad if the Albanians in Yugoslavia could form an independent state.

[Lambroschini] Are you an advocate of a Greater Albania, which would include Kosovo and other Yugoslav republics?

[Berisha] I am not an ardent champion of a Greater Albania. Historically speaking, it has never existed. Unification is not a priority; self-determination is the key issue. If other nations have a right to self-determination, then that right must also be accorded to the Albanians. My dream is unification with Europe.

Berisha Campaigns in Librazhd District, Korce

AU0503210692 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Television journalist Shpetim Rroqi reports that Democratic Party [PD] Chairman Sali Berisha held a very warm meeting with people of the Hotolisht area in Librazhd District this morning. Berisha stressed that the 22 March elections must be held quietly, without excesses, and in a democratic way. Every one must contribute to this aim. He later expressed confidence in the victory of the opposition, pointing out that this victory will change Albania and brighten the nation's fortunes. Berisha focused attention on some aspects of his party program as regards rural problems, stressing that PD concern for the majority of our people, i.e. the peasantry, has been evident in all the PD activities so far. Berisha then presented Kurt Xhepa, engineer in the ferronickel mine in Prrenjas, as PD parliamentary candidate for this constituency.

Berisha held meetings in Prrenjas, the Qukes area, and in Korce during the afternoon. Berisha accused the ruling Socialists of pursuing a policy of full tables and empty stomachs, which is provoking the people. He said that you will not allow communists in Belgrade to drink a toast after a victory of the Socialist Party in the next elections. In conclusion, he said that Marxism-Leninism is alien to Albanians.

Another successful rally attended by about 20,000 people was organized in the Skenderbeg Stadium of Korce. Pointing out the cultural, patriotic, and democratic traditions of the people of Korce, Berisha presented Eduard Selami, Teodor Keko, and Natasha Lako as PD parliamentary candidates for Korce.

Zhelev Assesses Relations With Turkey, Balkans

NC0503154992 Istanbul TURKIYE in Turkish 28 Feb 92 p 13

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Huseyin Tanrikulu in Sofia, date not given]

[Text] [TURKIYE] Could you, Mr. President, assess your relations with your neighbors in light of the changes and developments in our region over the past two years?

[Zhelev] Despite some difficulties and problems, we have good relations with our neighbors. Bulgaria's new policy aims to forge good relations with its Balkan neighbors. Individually, the states too must prefer to have good relations with their neighbors and with others. Our policy in the region is based on UN principles, and those of the CSCE and other international organizations. In this context, peace, security, and good-neighborliness are fundamental goals for us. I think Bulgaria, which is heading for democracy, has done a lot in this direction. Our relations with Turkey, Greece, and Yugoslavia are being established on new principles. We will achieve similar relations with the republics which came out of the disintegration of Yugoslavia. We have the necessary political will and patience.

[TURKIYE] How do you assess Turkish-Bulgarian relations? How do you explain the change from tension to friendship, if there is one?

[Zhelev] As you know, there were two reasons why relations between Bulgaria and Turkey were not good. The first was that Europe was divided into two blocs and each of the two countries belonged to a different one. Second, the Muslims in Bulgaria were oppressed and eventually forced to emigrate in the summer of 1989. Now both these factors have been eliminated. We are close neighbors and mutual assistance benefits us both. There is important yet untapped potential in this sphere which must be better used. Both countries want to harmonize with Europe and to participate in a united Europe's institutions. I exchanged views on this with Demirel during our Davos meeting. The two countries are willing to develop friendship and cooperation according to the principle of non-intervention in each other's internal affairs. We have a saying: "A good neighbor is even closer than a relative." I sincerely hope that Bulgaria and Turkey become good neighbors and friends.

[TURKIYE] What is your view on the role of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Project in developing bilateral relations?

[Zhelev] The project intends forging economic cooperation and mutual assistance between the littoral Black Sea countries. It is born out of the idea that these countries should get to know each other better, discover each other's potentials, and ensure mutual economic assistance. Initialing the protocol, these countries have taken the first step by examining issues such as communications, transport, ecology and the environment, and incentives for privatization. Such initiatives might in future become regional cooperation. I think, though, that the technical work will take a long time to complete because the countries involved are at different levels of political and economic development. The cooperation project will not affect cooperation with the European Community but will be part of it. This aspect is very important for us because Bulgaria aims to get integrated into Europe and this project suits the aim.

[TURKIYE] Do you still have ethnic problems in Bulgaria? What are you doing to overcome them?

[Zhelev] There are ethnic problems wherever there are ethnic differences but I do not think these problems are very acute here. They used to spring from incidents incited by the previous totalitarian regime. That mistake worsened relations between the Christians and Muslims, Bulgarians and Turks. We rejected this policy. Through various governmental and parliamentary decisions, we created the necessary conditions to eliminate the injustices. We recognized equal rights for the Turks and Muslims and everyone living in Bulgaria. The new Constitution guaranteed political, cultural, and religious rights for all Bulgarian citizens, who now have the right to chose their own names, study their mother tongue, follow their religion, and publish papers and magazines in their own language; these rights are guaranteed by law. In my opinion, the ethnic problems could be solved by establishing a genuine democracy. This way no ethnic group could impose itself on another. Democracy is a way to eliminate such oppression because only a democratic system can guarantee equality before the law.

Ganev Authorized To Cut Foreign Ministry Staff

AU0503212892 Sofia BTA in English 1929 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 5 (BTA)—President Zhelyu Zhelev invited to a discussion tomorrow the leadership of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) and of its parliamentary faction, the president's spokesman said today. The SDS insists that such meetings be held on a regular basis.

The Socialists' faction also asked for a meeting with the president, they announced at their regular news conference. Dr. Zhelev today announced the structure of the Office of the President: Chancery, Personal Office, Military Office and Office of the Vice President. The president retains his advisers: Prof. Lyuben Berov, Ms. Mariana Todorova, Mr. Boyan Slavenkov (economic advisors) and Mr. Mikhail Ivanov (advisor on national and ethnic affairs). [passage omitted]

Today Mr. Stoyan Ganev, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, was appointed by the government as its chief plenipotentiary to coordinate the overall activity on Bulgaria's association with the European Community and to hold high-level negotiations.

The cabinet today accepted Mr. Ganev's proposal to revise the functions of the Foreign Ministry. The payroll numbers in the ministry will be cut from 780 to 580. Mr. Ganev was also authorized to introduce structural changes.

The government revoked a decision by the previous government dated April 1991. Employees of the National Intelligence Service will no longer work at the central administration of the Foreign Ministry. The government decided to reopen the Bulgarian Embassies in Uruguay and Colombia and upgrade to ambassador level the Bulgarian missions in Venezuela and Peru. [passage omitted]

Kostov Denies Seized Newspapers To Close

AU0503193292 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Text] No one in the Council of Ministers or the Ministry of Finance wants to stop the publication of the newspapers affected by the Property Confiscation Act of 13 December 1991. The psychosis that has developed on this issue is caused by ignorance, according to the statement made today at the Council of Ministers Press Center by Finance Minister Ivan Kostov.

The newspapers affected by the Property Confiscation Act, including some that are losing money, will have their property seized. Kostov emphasized that it is a gross error to state that the newspapers will close as a result of the implementation of this requirement of the act. This property, he said, will be leased back to the newspapers. Negotiations on this issue will be held with the chief editors of the publications concerned and not with the present publishers.

The minister said that the money and subscriptions for 1992 will remain at the disposal of the editorial boards. In his view, the editorial boards will be able to maintain their links with their present publishers and grant them money if they so desire. No restrictions will be imposed on this.

Kozloduy Rejects Criticism Against Plant

AU0603130392 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1111 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] In connection with the numerous critical remarks addressed against the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant accusing the management of incompetence and even of alleged sabotage, Yordan Yordanov, spokesman of the plant's management, who is also the chief of the Safety Department, made the following statement to a BTA correspondent:

With such a negative attitude toward our nuclear power plant we are damaging our own national interests and contributing to the worsening of the negative attitude of other countries toward our nuclear power plant. There was nothing unusual about the recent breakdowns; they by no means involved any dangers for our people's safety. An accident of the Chernobyl type could never even theoretically occur in our country, let alone in reality. Despite all this, we shut down the first two reactors, which was totally unnecessary and nonsense in my own view, Mr. Yordanov added.

Neither Czechoslovakia nor Russia did anything of the sort. On the contrary, those countries are defending their own nuclear energy installations, instead of denouncing them. Germany shut down the nuclear power plants [in the former GDR], but the energy supply is not a problem for that particular country.

In cooperation with a team from World Association of Nuclear Operators [WANO] which has branches in the United States, France, the United Kingdom, Russia, and Japan, we are in the process of drafting a three-year program to adjust our reactors from the First to the Fourth Power Generating Units to international standards.

We are expecting financial assistance from the EC, but to obtain such assistance we must convince the people from the EC that we are trustworthy, just as we convinced WANO President Marshal and Mr. (?Car), vice president of the Electricite de France. However, we should have confidence in ourselves first. You should give the Kozloduy staff a chance and have confidence in the plant's power capacity, because our workers have lost their self-confidence in view of so many accusations.

Unlike their American and Russian colleagues, they have never allowed even the slightest nuclear accident to occur. We urge you to support them, because in doing so you will contribute to improving the reliable, peaceful, and safe functioning of our nuclear power plant. This is what the plant's spokesman stated to a BTA correspondent.

Minority Issue Said Blocking Treaty With Hungary

LD0503233192 Prague CSTK in English 2142 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Prague March 5 (CSTK)—Czechoslovakia has concluded several new bilateral treaties with both West and East European states since the change of regimes in late 1989, but one country that remains prominent by its absence among them is its southern neighbour, Hungary.

Czechoslovak Deputy Foreign Minister Martin Palous said that one reason for this is problems between the two countries concerning the rights and status of national minorities. Palous was speaking at a press conference of the deputies' club of the Centre-Left Civic Movement (OH). Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky has expressed certain reservations about the wording on national minorities in draft treaties discussed thus far, according to Palous. Carnogursky argues that the Hungarian minority in Slovakia is granted full rights, while the Slovak minority in Hungary has none.

The March 1991 census in Czechoslovakia showed that 566,741 people in Slovakia—10.8 per cent of the Slovak population—declared themselves of Hungarian nationality. As of February, 1991 approximately 200,000 of the roughly 10 million people in Hungary (two per cent) were Slovaks.

"As long as the Slovak republic devotes great attention to this issue, which it considers so sensitive...there is nothing else to do but look for another formulation", Palous said.

On the subject of treaties in general, a popular topic in view of the new Czechoslovak-German treaty signed February 27, Palous explained that every one of Czechoslovakia's bilateral treaties differs slightly in its clauses dealing with security. According to him, Czechoslovakia has the closest security links in its treaties with Poland—signed October 6, 1991 and ratified today by the Czechoslovak parliament—and Hungary. Signed in 1968 between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic, the current bilateral treaty "on friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance" was concluded for a term of 20 years, to be reconfirmed subsequently every five years. It was last renewed in 1988.

The formulation of what Palous called the closest security links is as follows: "If a situation threatening peace and security arises, the contractual parties will immediately enter into urgent consultations on the most effective method of averting the threat. In the case of an armed attack on one of the contractual parties, they will agree on the possibility of providing aid to the side assaulted, according to Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, and they will endeavour for the conflict to be resolved in conformity with the principles of the U.N. Charter and the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe".

Calfa Outlines Repayment Plan for Russian Debt

LD0503233792 Prague CSTK in English 1253 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Moscow March 5 (CSTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa has outlined a provisional agreement under which Russia will repay part of its 5,000 million dollar debt to Czechoslovakia through trade credits and deliveries of natural gas. Calfa told the "MOSCOW NEWS" weekly in an interview appearing in this weeks's edition that 2,000 million dollars of the debt were made up of trade credits given to the former Soviet Union by Czechoslovakia's former communist leaders. Payment for the credits would begin January 1996.

The Russian Government wants to pay more than 1,000 million dollars of the debt through deliveries of natural gas, Calfa said. Ways of repaying the remaining 2,000 million dollars have yet to be worked out with the Russian Government.

Calfa stressed that Czechoslovakia considers Russia and Ukraine to be equally important partners for Czechoslovakia. He said Russian exports, of vital importance for Czechoslovakia's economy, are delivered through Ukraine. He expressed concern over what he called "certain forces (in Ukraine) fully dedicated to the idea of agressive nationalism", and added that similar groups also can be found in Czechoslovakia. In connection with demands by groups in Czechoslovakia that Ukraine's Subcarpathian territories become part of Czechoslovakia, Calfa said Czechoslovakia has no territorial demands against its neighbors, including Ukraine.

KDH Expected To Split Into Two Factions

LD0503225192 Prague CSTK in English 1409 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Bratislava March 5 (CSTK)—"The (Slovak) Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) led by (Premier) Jan Carnogursky will continue to work for Slovakia's prosperity from the rightist positions", said KDH Executive Deputy Chairman Jan Petrik here today. Addressing a news conference, Petrik, who represents the less radical KDH wing, said Carnogursky's KDH "wants to build a barrier to counter leftist ideologies, totalitarianism and careerism which have infiltrated many political parties and movements in the Slovak republic". Petrik stressed European Christian democracies served as an example for KDH's structure and the KDH will stick to it also in the future. At a session of the KDH council in Bratislava March 7, its presidium is expected to recommend a KDH split into two factions which will have independent slates in the June parliamentary elections.

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KDH Chief Secretary Jozef Kuzma, who represents the radical nationalistic KDH wing of Slovak Parliament Deputy Chairman Jan Klepac, said this wing remains on the Christian positions. On Czechoslovakia's future

arrangement, Kuzma said Slovakia putting on an equal footing with the Czech republic is of primary importance. The two KDH platforms have different views on the country's constitutional setup as well as the way of implementing the economic reform, Petrik said, adding that Klepac's wing favours a social market system.

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The Chairman of the Hungarian Civic Party (MOS), Laszlo Nagy, told reporters today the MOS "welcomes the crystallization process which is currently under way in the KDH. Our political partner now will be more transparent", he added. The KDH as well as the MOS are members of the Slovak Government coalition. The other two members include the Democratic Party (DS) and the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence (ODU-VPN).

Calfa Affirms Intention To Remain in ODU-VPN

AU0503182992 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 4 Mar 92 p 9

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa by "EC"; place and date not given: "I Have No Reason To Change My Political Colors"]

[Text] [SMENA] Mr. Prime Minister, you are well known for your political pragmatism. Therefore, as a pragmatist, would it be more to your advantage to change your political colors at a time when the election forecasts give the Civic Democratic Union-Public Against Violence [ODU-VPN] Party a minimal chance of getting into parliament? Or would it be better to campaign as an independent? Perhaps this would increase your chances of remaining on the political scene.

[Calfa] I, of course, do not know what status the ODU-VPN has on the political scene. If you think its status is determined by a public opinion poll in which 1,000 people say what they think of the ODU-VPN, and you work out from this what the election results will be... well, I would rather wait for the real election results. I experienced this during the last elections. According to the opinion polls, the VPN had 8 percent of the vote in East Slovakia before the elections, and 45 percent after them. In other words, I do not think public opinion polls are at all indicative of how things will turn out. I do not know who conducts them, who is asked, or where they are asked. For example, if such a poll is conducted among respondents in Bratislava, it is clear to me how it will turn out. However, this will still not tell us the election result. I have no reason to change my political colors. I was asked to join the VPN in spring 1990, I adopted its program, and I am now implementing it.

[SMENA] It seems that the Civic Democratic Party [ODS] could adopt a quite significant position in your native region. Are you annoyed that such competition has emerged there for the ODU-VPN?

[Calfa] I do not know what kind of footing the ODS has in East Slovakia. I know there is an ODS club there. Why not? If there is a group of people there that wants to adopt the ODS' political profile, it can do so. This is precisely why we are developing a pluralist political system. However, I do not think the ODS will take too many votes away from the ODU-VPN in East Slovakia. This is a question of being in existence for a longer period of time, establishing a political base, compiling lists of candidates, political work, and so on. It is debatable from whom in fact the ODS will take away votes in east Slovakia. What if it takes them away from the group of voters that would have given them, for instance, to the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia?

Calfa: Statehood Must Be Based on Treaty

AU0503154692 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 3 Mar 92 p 1

[Interview with Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa by Ivan Rajecky in Bratislava; date not given: "I Like It in Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] The issues of constitutional arrangement, powers, radical economic reform, the status of Czechoslovakia in the world, and many others are interesting topics, which the federal prime minister is always willing to discuss. So we asked him the following questions:

[Rajeclky] Mr. Prime Minister, you have repeatedly mentioned that the world recognizes Czechoslovakia, the course it has taken and its achievements over the past two, or two and a half years, thus confirming the validity of our approach.

[Calfa] That is correct. If we look back at what we have achieved—let us remember the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, numerous talks with European states, and that we resolved our relations with Poland; the Warsaw Pact and CEMA were abolished, we have dealt with the EC, and talks with the republics of the former Soviet Union are in progress; we were admitted to the Council of Europe, etc. The world really approves of our progress.

[Rajeclky] So, this should favorably affect the inflow of foreign capital?

[Calfa] The world has an enormous interest in Czechoslovakia. We must, however, settle our internal problems, which include political stability and the constitutional arrangement.

[Rajeclky] Since you mentioned the two currently most important issues, would you answer the question of whether you could imagine transferring your post to someone else?

[Calfa] We are a democratic state, and we will have democratic elections. After the elections, it is to be expected that there will be a shuffle in the posts of politicians and state officials. We will show the world that it will be a democratic process. We will pass on all

our experience, shake hands, and wish them success in proceeding with the work we have begun. The elections will show who gets the voters' support. We have nothing to be ashamed of.

[Rajeclky] You are one of the people who have always been optimistic about the prospects of the common state and our future development. Has something changed?

[Calfa] Nothing has changed. I feel well in Czechoslovakia. I expect that we have reached the stage when a treaty must become the basis of our statehood. I have no idea why someone always attributes to me something I have never said. So, I repeat that at this stage, a treaty must become the basis of our statehood. The question is whether we actually want to facilitate by means of the treaty a situation in which our two nations find some expression for their activities as two equals in a single state, or split the state in half.

[Rajeclky] Let me ask one more question. An accusation has recently been put forward (in connection with Mr. Marecek's hunger strike) that you had contributed to the so-called truncheon law?

[Calfa] I have repeatedly asserted that I had nothing to do with this law. This was also testified to by Czech Prime Minister Pithart. I do not see why I should have to defend myself. I believe that if I make an accusation, I must prove it. This should be done by the accusers, by Mrs. Kaplanova, for instance, who accuse me of something I have not done.

Lansky of Democrats '92 Responds To Criticism

AU0503142392 Prague TELEGRAF in Czech 3 Mar 92 p 3

["RS" report: "Without a Leader"]

[Text] Prague—A request will be submitted to the Interior Ministry this week for the registration of a new entity on our political scene, a party operating on a federal basis—Democrats For a Common State, otherwise called Democrats '92. In view of the fact that its establishment was greeted with considerable mixed feelings, we asked one of its protagonists, Foreign Ministry Spokesman Egon Lansky, for his reaction to the most commonly expressed criticisms.

"I have learned from Petr Pithart, this erudite political scientist, that sometimes he is called a conservative and other times a liberal. However, I also know that the only party he was ever a member of was the Communist Party," said E. Lansky in response to the critical remarks made by the Czech prime minister in the 27 February edition of TELEGRAF. P. Pithart declared that the newly established party will not be thought of in categories such as liberalism or, for instance, liberal conservatism.

The Czech prime minister also expressed concern about whether the new party will be able to take on any kind of responsibility. He said that the party will only reassure people on three or four issues, whereas hundreds of others will, obviously, remain unanswered. Civic Democratic Alliance [ODA] Chairman Pavel Bratinka earlier expressed similar concern.

E. Lansky said in response to this that (in the case of P. Bratinka) we are talking about "a bold claim made by the respectable leader of a respectable political party," who has not yet asked anyone from Democrats '92 for any program. As he also said, they are working hard on their program and as soon as it is ready, they will submit it to everyone for consideration, including P. Bratinka.

The ODA chairman also expressed his conviction that the new party should—rather than campaign in the upcoming elections—demand that the already extant entities adhere to a certain standard of political culture and should also "put pressure" on them to clearly formulate their programs.

"I do not think that one precludes the other," said E. Lansky and he added that "his" party will be a party of goodwill and will not cut itself off from other political groupings that pursue similar aims, whether they enter into the elections or not.

"So far, we have been much too involved in getting everything ready and have not had any time at all for matters such as the election of a chairman," stated E. Lansky. According to him, the Democrats '92 membership base is estimated at several thousand.

Dubcek: Screening Law Violates International Law

AU0503140392 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 2 Mar p 2

[CSTK report: "The Screening Law Contradicts the Charter"]

[Text] Bratislava—After his visit to Greece, Alexander Dubcek said that Czechoslovakia could probably use Greece's experience with joining the EC and the privatization of state owned industry. He further stressed that he had observed that Greek representatives favor the preservation of a united Czechoslovakia. Alexander Dubcek also said that only a few people in our country know that in a number of Western countries, too, a process of privatization is under way.

On the subject of screening Dubcek said: "The screening law contradicts the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms. Speaking about collective guilt retroactive for 40 years contradicts several international agreements. Labor conventions and the documents on basic human rights and freedoms supersede our laws. The screening law has missed its original target and has a rather destructive effect," added Alexander Dubcek.

Report of Armed Slovak Militia 'Political Hoax'

AU0503102992 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 29 Feb 92 p 2

["REP" report: "There Will Be No Uprising"]

[Text] Martin—Another canard, a verbal attack with fabricated allegations, has really upset the people of Turec. This time a guaranteed report has appeared saying that members of the former People's Militia have not surrendered their weapons to the army and that civilians are in illegal possession of a large quantity of firearms.

Turec residents are irritated and rightfully upset because this information about their militant nature is not the only information that has appeared recently. They consider it an unsuccessful pre-election ploy by some political parties who do not like the social feeling and the leftist orientation of some of the region's inhabitants. We have learned from well-informed sources that there is no danger of Turec or Slovakia being hit by a military uprising centered in Martin [largest city in the region].

According to information provided by Ota Necas, commander of military unit 4403, it is impossible for former People's Militia members to be in possession of army weapons now. In fact, the army took these weapons from them, including other equipment and motor vehicles, in December 1989. Buildings that served the needs of the People's Militia in the heavy machine tools enterprises in Martin are today used by the people from the purchasing department. Former members of the People's Militia units work as employees—some of them in the enterprise, some in other organizations in Martin. At the district police corps command, too, we received only negative answers. No one knows anything about police members somewhere in Turec seizing illegal firearms. This was confirmed by Aloiz Michalek, deputy district commander of the Police Corps.

Well.... here we have another unsuccessful and sensation-seeking political hoax.

State Bank Official Views Currency Restrictions

LD0503210192 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 3 Mar 92

[Interview with Martin Svehla of the Czechoslovak State Bank by correspondent Barbara Tacheci; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Tacheci] What will be the State Bank's currency policy for this year? Unless I am mistaken, it was the central bank which gave notice of certain changes to come.

[Svehla] The restrictions are most often, and that very roughly, described with reference to last year's inflation which, as we know, was 54 percent. That means if we compare the servicing of the turnover of goods in January with December, then in December 54 percent more money was needed than in January. The central bank then did not supply this full amount of money to the economy but supplied somewhat less, something around 25 percent, through bank credits.

At the end of last year, especially in November and December, there was a significant deviation from the expected development trends. We arrived at a certain deficit in the state budget and wages grew relatively fast in those last two months. That actually reflected an additional issuance of money into the economy. [passage omitted]

[Tacheci] You said that the central bank would like to retain the restrictions. However today, when the rules for the functioning of the bank system are changing as well, what are the tools which the central bank can apply for retaining these restrictions?

[Svehla] The central bank still has a number of such hard administrative and command tools for the implementation of its currency policy. Among the most criticized and least pleasant ones is the credit limit above which banks are not allowed to advance credit, and second the maximum interest rate which at present is 17 percent. The central bank would like to divest itself of these two command tools within the course of this year and would like to switch fully to the implementation of a currency policy applying indirect tools, that is, the discount credit rate, the stipulation of criteria for individual banks from the point of view of their equity standing, etc.

[Tacheci] The discount rate which you mentioned is 9.5 percent today. Do you expect this discount rate to change in the course of this year?

[Svehla] We cannot exclude a possible movement in the discount rate, but for the time being this does not seem to be in any way a necessary step. [passage omitted]

Antall Writes Letter to Calfa on Danube Dam

AU0503123692 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 29 Feb 92 pp 1, 3

[Letter from Prime Minister Jozsef Antall to CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa; no date given]

[Text] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall sent the following letter to CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa:

Dear Prime Minister!

Thank you for your letter of 23 January 1992, which shows the concern and responsibility your government feels for the Danube water dam system. This sense of concern and responsibility is the same for us. We are responsible for the physical living conditions of our peoples and for the development of good-neighborly relations. You will probably agree that, in this spirit, we must undertake to make a sensible joint decision, and we must not allow tensions to arise in our relations instead of European cooperation. Maintaining good cooperation and resolving tensions through negotiations is in the common interest of neighboring countries and the "Visegrad Three."

The Hungarian Government has again dealt with the arising situation of the Bos water dam system. Let me inform you about our government's position.

The issue of the Danube water dam system is a difficult problem inherited from the past. The unanswered questions, the immeasurably difficult tasks that we are facing, and the material losses and damages unjustifiably burdening the future are rooted in the fundamentally flawed decision-making mechanisms of the previous political regime.

During the long years of preparations, a considerable number of representatives of professional areas necessary for laying the foundations of the plans were irresponsibly excluded from decisionmaking, and people who spoke out against the construction were silenced. The natural and environmental values of the region affected by the water dam were mostly not referred to. The edifice was being constructed while the decisionmakers of both countries were uninformed about the irreversible and damaging ecological consequences.

The period since the Hungarian side suspended construction has given us an opportunity to review the environmental effects of the water dam and to start carrying out the necessary and missing investigations.

Please, let me summarize again the most dangerous ecological risks.

According to the Hungarian experts and the invited foreign officials, putting the Bos water dam into operation would mean an extremely drastic interference in the natural order. The Danube would be diverted into a 30-kilometer-long sealed channel; no similar intervention exists anywhere along the Danube.

Changing the dynamic balance of the water system of the affected areas would irreversibly damage the most important water stocks of both Hungary and the CSFR, although preserving the water stock is one of the most important long-term strategic issues for all countries of Europe. The filtering properties of the bed of the Danube determine the quantity and quality of the water both in the currently functioning wells along the shore—which ensure Pozsony's [Bratislava's] water supply—and in the many-hundred-meter thick alluvial gravel cone in the Csallokoz [Zitny Ostrov] and Szigetkoz areas. The existing interventions have not yet affected this constantly renewing stock which, in the future, can ensure a long-term steady daily production of 3 million cubic meters of water that does not need to be purified—drinking water for more than 5 million people. This water supply—among other things—would be endangered by putting the water dam into operation. The costs of supplementary replacement investments connected with the damage and loss of the potential water stocks are nearly immeasurable.

The excellent agricultural and forestry areas of this area will be lost as a result of the changes in the ground water level. Through changing the water balance of the soil, the circulation of materials in the soil will change, and this in turn will induce changes in the composition of the vegetation and in the communities of animals. The plant and animal communities living here have adapted to the centuries-old dynamics of the water. These communities are able to follow the process in a slow motion, but the response to the drastic changes resulting from the diversion of the Danube will be the degradation and destruction of natural and environmental values.

In connection with the aforementioned, I note that—in accordance with the norms of international environmental law—the agreement signed by Hungary and the EC in 1991 on associate membership regards it an outstanding aim to fight against air and water pollution occurring locally, regionally, and beyond the borders, to protect the water quality of waterways, and to cooperate in this.

The fact that the area's seismological conditions and the ensuing dangers were not investigated is not immaterial, either.

Dear Prime Minister!

Since suspending construction, the Hungarian Government has been seeking a solution to the problem through negotiation, with a view to jointly investigating the environmental problems. We have informed our Czech and Slovak negotiating partners about the issues that we consider important, both verbally and in writing. At the same time, your experts have not yet presented us with an arrangement that would prove that the damages and risks we expect are nonexistent. That is why we, too, called for for the establishment of a trilateral joint committee with international experts so that both sides

can be adequately informed in order to make a responsible joint decision. This is vitally important for both sides. The trilateral investigation has not yet been able to take place because, contrary to the 1977 interstate agreement, either at the December 1991 meeting or since then, the Czech and Slovak side has not agreed to the suspension of construction—and we consider this a reasonable prerequisite for setting up a joint experts committee. In fact, to our very great concern, in your letter dated 23 January 1992, following the negotiations in December, you informed me about the government decision to put the Bos power station into operation unilaterally, only on Czech and Slovak territory; and we have been receiving news of the increased rate of construction in the period since then.

This, without the intervention of any trilateral investigations, encourages the ecological danger outlined, and the diversion of the Danube by a unilateral decision amounts to a serious violation of international law.

As a substitute solution, the Czech and Slovak side announced the work on the unilateral diversion of the Danube as being a response to the Hungarian decision on suspension, presuming that the Hungarian decisions were equivalent to violating the 1977 interstate agreement. In contrast, I would like to emphasize that the suspension of the construction was unavoidable for the Hungarian side and that this step was in accordance with international law. Several arguments support this. I will only refer to the most important one, namely that the Hungarian side acted in an ecological emergency. This precludes the possibility that the government's decision ordering the suspension was unlawful, because this was the only chance to protect the essential interests of the population of the country and of this region. It can be laid down as a basic principle of international law that the fulfillment of the agreement would have brought on ecological consequences that could not be accepted by a responsible government. Therefore, the Hungarian decision on suspending the work was not unlawful.

In contrast to this, the unilateral diversion of the Danube not only questions the validity of the 1977 interstate agreement and is not only contrary to it, but it also violates a number of provisions of international law. The substitute solution is contrary to the principle of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, which is a mandatory rule of international law. On leaving Pozsony, the Danube becomes an international border river, and therefore it falls partly under Hungarian and partly under Czech and Slovak supremacy. If follows from this that decisions on a common border river can only be made by mutual agreement of the two states concerned. The temporary solution is contrary to the principle of the inviolability of state borders. Therefore, its implementation is incompatible with the principles accepted in the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Final Act. The diversion of the Danube from a joint section to Czech and Slovak territory would move the main shipping route, which, at the moment, according to the Paris peace treaty—and indirectly the Trianon peace treaty—forms the border of the two states. In the event the unilateral decision is implemented, the character of the border would be fundamentally changed.

Dear Prime Minister!

In 1991, at the meetings of our government commissioners, it was agreed that the essential problems were of a professional and scientific nature, and the joint intention existed to establish a trilateral experts committee. However, the aim of the committee and the meaning of its work is placed in question by the Czech and Slovak side's construction activity to complete the Bos water dam, which was approved by a high-level government decision. Once cannot envisage a responsible common position without first having a clear view of the professional and scientific problems. Therefore, in accordance with the Hungarian Government's decision on 20 February 1992, I repeat my request to you to suspend the construction, which is incompatible with the 1977 interstate agreement and the general norms of international law, thus facilitating an early start of the trilateral investigation and early solution of the interstate legal debate through mutual agreement. Rather than increasing the tension, our crucial task now is to ensure that here, in the heart of Europe, we continue to secure peace, stability, and the cooperation of the "Visegrad Three" and of our countries. This responsibility is our burden now. We expect the Czech and Slovak Government to agree to this outlined common road.

Should the CSFR Federal Government refuse our proposal and continue the work to divert the Danube, which seriously violates international law, it would create a very difficult situation. It would not only demonstrate the violation of a series of international agreements; through its unilateral actions the Czech and Slovak side also violates the 1977 interstate agreement and questions its validity by acting as though it considered the agreement nonexistent. By doing this, the CSFR Government would place the Hungarian Government in a situation in which it is necessary to terminate the agreement. In this eventuality, dear Prime Minister, I must say that, if, in spite of all our hopes and reasonable requests, the CSFR Government does not find a possibility to start the trilateral investigation within a reasonable time and, at the same time, to suspend the unilateral work while this investigation is under way, then, under this duress, the Hungarian Government will not be able to do anything but terminate the 1977 interstate agreement. It will have to do this to protect the environmental and ecological values, the living conditions of the peoples of this region and of the future generations, international law, and the territorial sovereignty of Hungary.

I inform you that our government has sought the prior authorization of the National Assembly for this.

In conclusion, I express my belief that our countries, the public, the professional and scientific groups, and the responsible government representatives will be able to accept the outlined solution through negotiations.

Most respectfully yours,
With regards,
Jozsef Antall

Katona Comments on Dam Issue, Slovakia Relations

AU0503103792 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Mar 92 p 4

[Interview with Tamas Katona, Hungarian state secretary at the Foreign Affairs Ministry, and Miklos Duray, chairman of the Coexistence Political Movement, in Slovakia, by Janos A. Szilagyi; place and date not given: "Tamas Katona: The National Minority Problem Is a Security Issue—Hungarians in Slovakia Ask for Compensation for the Kassa Program"]

[Text] Hungarians living in neighboring countries have to play a connecting role between the countries of this region. We gathered here to remember and to protest. But rather than to demand revenge, we are here to ensure that anything that was done against the Hungarians living in Slovakia after 1945 will be impossible to commit again, Tamas Katona said at the Felvidek [Upper Lands, in Slovakia, formerly in Hungary] meeting organized by the Rakoczi Alliance. The tragedy in Croatia warned us that trying to move the borders is a solution for the Hungarians who are a minority. [sentence as published] Democracy, cooperation policy, and open borders can ensure the survival of Hungarians in the neighborhood, Tamas Katona said.

The Rakoczi Alliance, which is made up of Hungarians who originally came from the Felvidek, called this meeting to remember the measures of the Czechoslvak Government program in Kassa [Kosice] in 1945, which have not yet been withdrawn. These laws made the Hungarians collectively responsible for the events of World War II, depriving them of the most basic rights. In their statement, the leaders of the alliance remind that the Hungarian Government did not fail to apologize for participating in the 1968 occupation [of Czechoslovakia]. At the same time, the CSFR Government has not withdrawn the injurious decrees and has not paid compensation to the Hungarians who suffered damages.

[Szilagyi] What possibilities exist for protecting the Hungarians living beyond our borders?

[Katona] Europe is just starting to realize that religious and political minorities are usually oppressed in countries where national minorities are not protected. It is becoming increasingly obvious that handling the national minority problem is of utmost importance. For this very reason, we can expect to find a considerable number of allies in our efforts made in the interest of Hungarians. It would be dangerous to fight this just battle by bragging or even through one-sided Hungarian initiatives. Our possibilities are expanded by the fact that cooperation is the most vital interest of all countries of this region, and the most vivid example of this is the Visegrad triangle that was established as a Hungarian initiative. It is not through redrawing the borders but through opening them that we can do most for the minority Hungarians, and they have to be given the opportunity to play a bridging role between two peoples and two cultures.

[Szilagyi] How can Jozsef Antall's letter to the CSFR prime minister, which holds out the prospect of a firmer Hungarian stance on the Bos power station construction, influence bilateral relations?

[Katona] We can hope that common sense will prevail. Hungary has shown extraordinary patience in this matter. The same way as we take into consideration the opinion of independent experts, we would like the other side to do this, too. Obviously, if we do not manage to achieve any results then the 1977 contract will have to be terminated, which will certainly cast a shadow on Hungarian-Slovak relations.

[Szilagyi] How can the strained affair of the power station affect the situation of Hungarians in Slovakia?

[Duray] We have thought a lot about the right solution. We came to the conclusion that experts, rather than politicians, should decide on this issue. If they decide that the construction has to be halted then that has to be done, even if it creates political tensions.

[Szilagyi] Do you see a chance for agreement?

[Duray] As a deputy at the Czech and Slovak Federal Assembly, I explained that I condemned the Slovak Government's refusal of the Hungarian conditions. It is perfectly clear today—it might not have been in 1997, though—that nature will suffer irreversible damages if the power station is completed. However, it has to be seen that, at the moment, the Czech lands and Slovakia are not prepared to take any definite steps in this issue. A single political party—that may have a chance in the elections—cannot take the responsibility upon itself of making a decision on the construction. Here, it is a political, rather than a professional issue just now.

Temporary Defense Ministry Spokesman Appointed

LD0503180692 Budapest MTI in English 1449 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI)—Lt. Col. Laszlo Tikos, head of the ministry's press office, was temporarily appointed Defence Ministry spokesman by Defence Minister Lajos Fur today. Former Spokesman Col. Gyorgy Keleti resigned on 4 March citing increasing difficulty accessing ministry information. He has also been the target of politically-charged accusations, according to MTI. Keleti was the last officer in the post of ministry department head appointed before May 1990.

Party Leaders View Statute of Limitations Ruling

LD0503223192 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2200 GMT 3 Mar 92

[Text] The government coalition respects the Constitutional Court's decision [to extend the Statute of Limitations] but will continue to seek legal solutions to affect historical justice, commented Imre Konya, leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum parliamentary faction, on the verdict of constitutional judges.

On behalf of the Christian Democratic People's Party, Tibor Fuezessy called attention to the opposition's attempt to make use of the Constitutional Court's verdict for political aims.

Gyula Pasztor, leader of the Independent Smallholders' Party Group of 35 which is in the coalition, only said that some kind of solution must be found in this affair, come what may.

Opposition party speakers welcomed the constitutional judges' decision describing it as a victory for the constitutional state. Zoltan Gal, leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party faction, urged responsible political forces to work jointly to uncover the historical past.

According to Peter Hack, Alliance of Free Democrats, the Constitutional Court, even despite the current political mood, considers the rule of law and the security of justice as a priority and he also expressed support for the Federation of Young Democrats' proposal to arrive at a six-party agreement.

Parties Present Views on 'Left-Wing Danger'

AU0503101692 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 27 Feb 92 p 4

[Interview with representatives of various parliamentary parties by Csoknyay and Demeny; place and date not given: "Only the FIDESZ Expects a Left-Wing Danger, But of a Different Kind—The Democratic Forum Is Good at Obscuring the Truth"]

[Text] Certain leaders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] often describe the existence of some kind of left-wing danger to their electors and virtually to the whole of society—naturally, using generalities and not quoting any actual facts. However, even the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] made a remark when Defense Minister Lajos Fur talked about left-wing and right-wing dangers. It seems that political pressure linked to this issue can also be found in the background of the resignation of [Minister Without Portfolio] Andras Galszecsy. For this reason, we asked the representatives of a number of parliamentary parties whether they see a real left-wing danger and whether it is possible that the MDF will adopt unexpected measures on these grounds?

Gyula Horn, MSZP:

"We do not deal with the issues of a left-wing danger. Naturally, we will answer any concrete questions. However, we are not planning to take further steps after the statement made by Laszlo Kovacs prior to the agenda on 25 February. Therefore, we are not planning to hold separate talks with Jozsef Antall on this issue, either. Obviously, if the prime minister initiates a discussion, we will not refuse to take part."

Istvan Szigethy, Alliance of Free Democrats:

"It would be good to find out what they understand by left-wing danger. A possible violent takeover would present a real danger but there is no sign of such activities. It is a fact that dissatisfaction is growing in the country. It is even possible that a section of society will become radical and march on the streets, but this is not equivalent to a left-wing danger. As to the government going as far as declaring a state of emergency on the grounds of this left-wing danger, this is made impossible by the constitutional order."

Tamas Deutsch, Federation of Young Democrats:

"Interpreting the government party's statements, it seems that it gives equal weight to the left-wing and the right-wing danger. However, it lays even more emphasis, if this is possible, on the democratic institutional system and parliamentary democracy as a national or local danger. This is not realistic, though. Nevertheless, we can talk about some kind of an indirect danger if, by left-wing danger, we mean that economic, local political, and media positions remain, through preservation of property and power, in the hands of people who belonged to the old regime's nomenklatura, and who appear to be joining in various interest groups and occasionally present a joint stand. This is an interest lobby that might find its own political representation in a given situation. However, this is never or hardly ever mentioned. The MDF's description of a left-wing danger is to obscure the facts with the aim of finding an enemy and thus diverting attention from the real dangers."

Istvan Prepeliczay, Independent Smallholders Party:

"It was found out at the mid-term elections that, as a result of the dissatisfaction, the MSZP is the only organized force today. Being a successor, this was the most organized party to participate in these elections. Regardless of this, I do not feel the existence of a left-wing danger. However, I do not feel the existence of a right-wing danger, either. I simply do not feel the existence of any kind of danger. In reality, the dissatisfaction in the country is a largely natural process, because people were living in relative prosperity three years ago and they obviously have a nostalgia for that era."

Miklos Gaspar, Christian Democratic People's Party:

"In my view, at the moment, we cannot seriously talk about either a left-wing or a right-wing danger. There is no doubt, though, that, using the delay in the change of the regime and certain controversial issues, and because

the communist cadres can still be found in several important positions, certain left-wing demagogues can create social tensions. However, this only presents a realistic danger if the economic situation does not stabilize within the foreseeable future."

National Guard Allegedly Being Organized

AU0503182392 Budapest 168 ORA in Hungarian 3 Mar 92 p 7

[Interview with retired Police Major General Istvan Kis, official at the military section of the Committee for Historical Justice, by Erno Kardos; place and date not given: "Tough Guys Are Wanted—The National Guard Is Being Organized—The Committee for Historical Justice Condemns it"]

[Text] It is always possible to find willing people who want to create order. Some undertake to protect the area of their block, and others try to keep the events of their parties clean. According to the latest news, the National Guard is being formed. However, the military section of the Committee for Historical Justice [TIB] distances itself from this. Erno Kardos interviewed Istvan Kis on this matter.

[Kardos] Have you heard that a National Guard is being formed, which would be a military organization working alongside the Army and would be able to use weapons to achieve its aims?

[Kis] I have seen a document describing these goals, in fact, it initiates registering these goals at the Court registration. This document has a number of signatures and resembles a founding document.

[Kardos] Is it perfectly clear to you what the goals of this organization are and why they want to use the weapons?

[Kis] I do not have any detailed information on the activities of this organization. I am astonished that the idea of establishing such an organization or body could have emerged, because it is definitely wrong and to be condemned. When this emerged, we at the military section of the TIB clearly condemned it. We distance ourselves from it, and we do not admit to have anything in common with this organization.

[Kardos] Is this so, even if the members of the National Guard who signed this draft document are members of the TIB?

[Kis] Yes, it is.

[Kardos] You have the draft, the founding document in your hands. It came into the possession of the TIB members by accident. What was their opinion on it?

[Kis] We were astonished when we read it. Everyone was indignant, and everyone, without exception, including the leadership as a body, expressed its complete disagreement.

Wild Ideas

[Kardos] If I correctly understand this founding document, the National Guard intends to act as an armed force, and in addition to Hungary, it also wants to be active abroad.

[Kis] Yes, this is what we can learn from this invective. I cannot even qualify it.

[Kardos] If this is illegal and impossible to qualify, then how is it possible that such an organization was registered?

[Kis] You have to ask [Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard] Mr. Kajtar about that.

[Kardos] In your view, if this includes revolutionaries of 1956, can they acquire weapons?

[Kis] No.

[Kardos] Not even illegally?

[Kis] In my view, no. However, naturally, one cannot make a judgment on what people do illegally....

[Kardos] Do you think that it is impossible that an extremist political power would want to use this certain National Guard in Hungary to some kind of end?

[Kis] I cannot imagine the existence of a trend in the Army that could support this. These—I do not want to qualify them just now—are probably living in the myths of the 1956 national guard activities and, in my view, they believe that they have a mission to put things in order. Incredibly wild ideas can emerge in their thoughts, having this in their mind. They do not take into consideration the fact that the historical situation and the social and political conditions are different from those in 1956. There was a revolution in 1956, and we are living in a peaceful and democratic transition period today. Confusing these two situations and bringing them to the same level is astounding—it completely lacks reality.

Walesa Says Too Early To Talk About New Party

LD0503233992 Warsaw PAP in English 1823 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 5—President Lech Walesa said Thursday [5 March] that it was too early to talk about the need to create a presidential party since "people who ought not will stick to me", but he did not exclude such a possibility. The president was speaking in an interview on Polish Radio 3.

When asked if he felt responsible for the state of Poland's economy, Walesa said that he felt responsible for the collapse of the Soviet Union, that cooperation with East Germany had ended and that 80 percent of Polish industry had lost its reason for existence.

As far as decommunisation was concerned, Walesa thought that the decision makers and criminals were the only ones who should be brought to account. "We should build the new Poland together—even priests were educated in communist schools", he said.

According to Walesa, his choice of president for the National Bank of Poland, Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, had stirred up emotions because she was able to clear up the case of the "Telegraph" (said to be linked to the Centre Alliance—ed.) and other companies. "They are afraid of that", maintained Walesa.

Replying to the question of whether he should rule by decree, Walesa said, "the nation wants me to say: that is enough playing around. But lets wait, maybe democracy will surprise us". Walesa evaluated Poland's international position saying: "For the Germans we are not stable enough, for the Russians too much".

Commenting on his recent meetings with workers in the mass media, the president said "I see things practically, but I do not have time for argumentation".

Walesa Signs Economic Laws Despite Reservations

LD0403171392 Warsaw PAP in English 1138 GMT 4 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 4—President Lech Walesa signed Tuesday [3 March] several economic laws, including one amending the budget law, despite reservations as to their conformity with the Constitution.

The package in question includes the law on income tax from legal entities and amendments to some laws regulating the principles of taxation, the law amending the budget law and some other laws, the law on the principles of financial policy of the state in 1992, and the law amending laws on employment and pensions.

All the documents, passed by the parliament last January and February, make up a system of socioeconomic solutions indispensable for the implementation of state budget and the functioning of the state in 1992, and thus they should come in force simultaneously and without delay.

That is why the president decided to give his go-ahead to the package despite some reservations as to some solutions, above all contained in the law amending the budget law. But at the same time he is considering the possibility to signal his doubts to the Constitutional Tribunal, the presidential office reported.

Walesa Optimistic About Future Political Scene

LD0303200192 Warsaw PAP in English 1420 GMT 3 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 3—Commenting on the latest proposal of the Democratic Union (UD) to stop political fighting and build the Polish political scene from scratch, President Lech Walesa said Tuesday [3 March] that "the idea is good, but too elitist."

The president was answering questions from the editorial staff of the GLOB 24 newspaper, another editorial office he visited in the last two weeks.

He said "what the UD has now proposed amounts to a game among the elites, which I do not like. I would prefer all the political parties to concentrate on the man in the street."

Walesa told the journalists he saw the need for a national concord. "I am not on any particular side, I am for an agreement and for everyone joining in the reforms. I want to mediate," he explained. Walesa complained about the continuing disputes and resentments among various segments of the society, particularly the OPZZ [All-Polish Trade Union Alliance] and the Solidarity trade union federations.

He singled out the disintegration of the Soviet Union as an important factor responsible for Poland's economic problems. The collapse of the Soviet economy meant that some 70 percent of the Polish industry lost its markets, Walesa maintained.

Speaking about Poland's future, the president said: "I do not see it in dark colours. If we succeed in forgiving [others] in the moral sphere and take to building Poland, then we have great chances."

Asked whether he had made up his mind on running for presidency again, Walesa recalled that his motto before the last election had been "I do not want to run, but I am forced to," while now he would say "I can run, but I do not have to."

He called on media people to devote more attention to such crucial issues as unemployment. "I understand you care about the circulation, but please put pin-up girls on the last page," the president appealed.

Walesa Comments on Army's Role in New System

AU0503183792 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 28 Feb-1 Mar 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by Jerzy Slaski; place and date not given: "I Will Do Everything To Safeguard Stable Service for Military Personnel"]

[Text] [Slaski] Mr. President, what should be the Army's place in a free, democratic Poland? What role has it been assigned in the state structures?

[Walesa] The reality has changed. We are building a new system. THe changes should not leave the Army untouched. Before, the Army played the role of a "guard." The communist authorities regarded it as the mainstay of the system. Sometimes they resorted to the Army's strength, and soldiers had to obey the orders of their superiors whether they wanted to or not.

And today? The Army has been pushed into the background, so to speak, because our revolution was a smooth and bloodless one, without the Army's participation. At the same time, Army affairs remain cloaked in shadow because there is no serious foreign threat.

In a free Poland, the Army has different tasks to perform than the ones the previous authorities tried to impose upon it. Today these tasks are the defense of the democratic state's sovereignty and independence. Therefore, it is urgent to incorporate the Army into the new political model and adapt it to the new reality.

[Slaski] Is there really no threat to Poland, and can we really feel safe?

[Walesa] Yes and no. It is true that we have vanquished communism, the Soviet Union has collapsed, and we have regained our freedom. It is true that our neighbors are not making any territorial claims against us and not threatening to invade. However, there are many other dangers.

[Slaski] Such as?

[Walesa] For example, the bad economic situation, or local conflicts that could threaten our borders. Another danger is a wave of migration from the East, which could destabilize the country.

[Slaski] How are we to defend ourselves against this?

[Walesa] We must consolidate Poland's security not just by military means, but, above all, by political means. That is why we are aiming to tighten our links with international institutions. We already belong to the Council of Europe, we are participating in the CSCE process, we have concluded an agreement on association with the EEC, and we have joined the Council for North Atlantic Cooperation [Rada Wspopracy Polnocnoatlantyckiej]. However our aims are made difficult by the absence of a clear and uniform system of European security.

The structure and size of the Polish Army should be yet another argument in favor of our policy of entering Europe.

We are also trying to move closer to NATO. In the future we would like to become a full member of that alliance.

But until now, NATO was a bloc facing another bloc. This was a confrontational, defensive, and protective arrangement. When one bloc is eliminated, the other loses its meaning and has to seek another solution. Nevertheless, one must not allow such an efficient organization, which had different tasks and objectives, to disintegrate. Therefore, one must avail oneself of all of NATO's organizational abilities in the performance of the new tasks now facing mankind, countries, and the world.

[Slaski] So what sort of Army is it supposed to be? How big? How well organized? What ideas do you have on reorganizing the Armed Forces, Mr. President?

[Walesa] To put it briefly, my idea is to have an Army that will act as a deterrent and as an encouragement at the same time. It must deter potential aggressors, who must be made to realize that an attack on Poland would cost them dearly, and it must encourage potential allies, who must be made to realize that it is worth cooperating with us, that we are a responsible partner with whom it is worth developing close ties, and that we are strong and stable enough to consolidate international security. In this way, we hope the road to membership of the future NATO will be opened.

We must convert our Army from a Warsaw Pact element into an independent army of a sovereign state. For that we need organizational changes. The Army's size and structure must suit the present political situation in Europe and the world. The Army must be capable of waging a defensive struggle on Polish soil. As far as supplies of weapons and equipment are concerned, we must not let the Army be dependent on foreign monopolies. However, reequipping the Army takes time and money. In the future, Army service should be mostly professional, based on voluntary recruitment. The president should be the real head of the Armed Forces.

[Slaski] Is there a dispute between you and the defense minister? Are there any disputes about powers? One has the impression that there is competition for control over the Army.

[Walesa] That is a mistaken impression. There is no competition, and there is no dispute. There are, however, misunderstandings due to the fact that Defense Minister Parys assumed his post after certain concepts had already been prepared. He was never involved in these concepts form the very beginning, and he does not consider himself a co-author. Needless to say, sooner or later we are going to have to clear things up. Hence the enormous amount of tasks facing us.

[Slaski] So there is no "competition for the Army," but nevertheless, moods inside the Army are not too good. The professional cadres are frustrated because they are not certain about the future, their standard of living has dropped, and there is a general lack of stabilization.

[Walesa] I hope the stabilization will occur soon, but I cannot make empty promises. The situation in the Army depends on the country's economic condition. There is too little money for the Army. More money can only be provided by strengthening the economy and by Poland's economic development.

Nevertheless, in the present situation one must expect cuts in Army spending. Other countries are doing that, even the wealthiest ones. Germany has been reducing its Armed Forces recently.

[Slaski] But changes in the Army involve more than just money. There is also a need for organizational changes, whose success depends not on money, but on ideas. Do you feel that the reform in the Army is too slow?

[Walesa] No, I do not. It is not a revolution the Army needs, but rather planned action. Certain matters could not be tackled before a free parliamentary election because suitable legislation was required. The Army is not a set of Lego bricks.

Yet a lot has been done already. Work is in progress on strengthening and improving the national air defense system. Military units are being relocated to fill any loopholes in the new defense system. The number of officer academies and training centers has been reduced in accordance with present needs. Training methods have also changed. Today, soldiers are brought up on Christian ethics, with reference to the traditions of independent Poland. The Army has also experienced cadre changes at the leadership level.

The most urgent matter is to work out a state defense doctrine. It is almost ready.

[Slaski] Mr. President, military cadres seldom have an opportunity to meet their chief. Our interview is an opportunity to convey some of your personal views to soldiers.

[Walesa] Well, first I would like to express my appreciation for the Polish Army's professional cadres, for their knowledge, experience, and desire to serve the fatherland. The Army has always enjoyed great esteem on our part. It still does. I understand the difficult situation of professional soldiers. I will bear their problems in mind and try to solve them as best I can.

I will do everything to safeguard stable service for military personnel and the military profession, ensure a suitable standard of living, and provide decent conditions after the completion of military service.

There is no shortage of room in the Army for those who want to serve their country faithfully. Soldiers should not be subject to changing moods and should not listen to rumors about supposed purges or personnel cuts. I am sure the Army will guide itself by means of a calm, objective assessment of the current situation on the basis of established facts, just as it does in combat.

Sejm Drafts Resolution on Socioeconomic Policy

LD0403190392 Warsaw PAP in English 2124 GMT 3 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 3—The Sejm [lower house] Committee for Economic Policy, Budget, and Finance drafted a resolution Tuesday [3 March] on adopting the government-proposed assumptions of the social and economic policy for 1992. The draft is based on the conception submitted by head of the committee, Catholic ZchN [Christian-National Union] Deputy Henryk Goryszewski.

In its resolution the committee suggests to adopt the government's proposal on condition that changes will be made in the monetary and crediting policy, an industrial policy concept urgently developed, and a restructuring programme for agriculture will be worked out urgently too.

Minister of Finance Andrzej Olechowski told the committee that the IMF believes Poland's deficit will not eat up all the antiinflation gains. The World Bank is satisfied with the development-oriented components present in the government's programme but its report on Polish economy condition speaks about the budget in terms of national salvation, Olechowski said.

Deputies Reject Economic Program

LD0503204792 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 2000 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] In the course of today's deliberations in the Sejm, the chamber rejected a resolution on the government's socioeconomic policy guidelines for this year. The voting revealed 138 deputies in favor of the resolution and 171 against, with 38 deputies abstaining.

Earlier, the Democratic Union and the Liberal Democratic Congress declared that they would vote against the guidelines. The Alliance of the Democratic Left had made its support for the guidelines dependent on the adoption of the amendment to the draft law proposed by its parliamentary club. The Christian-National Union, the Center Alliance, and all the peasant groupings declared themselves in favor of the resolution.

Olszewski Holds Briefing on Vote

LD0603133392 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1300 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Report by Pawel Rabiej, from the Council of Ministers building in Warsaw]

[Text] An extraordinary meeting of the Council of Ministers ended 15 minutes ago, and a briefing for journalists commenced attended by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski. Prime Minister Olszewski said that the signal from the vote on the draft government guidelines yesterday is ambiguous. Two votes took place, he said. In these circumstances, the government recognizes that the Sejm's stance is ambiguous and the result of the vote that took place in the Sejm yesterday is not the result of a substantive assessment of the program proposed by the government, but the result of [words indistinct]. The Council of Ministers acknowledged that the draft guidelines constitute the only possible government program, the only one that is possible in these circumstances. Only this program will enable steps to be taken that will hold back the economic decomposition of the state.

Prime Minister Olszewski's news conference is still continuing at the moment, and we will keep you informed about what the prime minister has said.

Olszewski: Government Not To Resign

LD0603154992 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1300 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Text] The extraordinary government session has ended. It was followed by a news conference attended by Prime Minister Jan Olszewski. The government does not intend to resign. As to the results of the vote in the Sejm yesterday, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski said that they are ambiguous, they are the result of political games, and not a substantive stance on the sociopolitical guidelines of the government. The prime minister stated that the socioeconomic guidelines are the only government program, and that the draft budget is to be worked out on this basis by 23 March. The prime minister also stated that if the Sejm does not adopt the budget the government will then resign. What did the prime minister say about the coalition?

[Begin recording] During the discussion on the program presented by the government, which was also affirmed by the Center Alliance [PC], and the Democratic Union [UD], the UD leadership issued a statement stating that this program ought to be rejected, that the stance of the government creates a crisis on a statewide level, called for holding political consultations, and for all political forces to create a new government. This is not a stance that would encourage or allow the undertaking of talks on programmatic matters. The Government has no intention of clinging on to power at any price.

The government has declared from the start that it will present a program after familiarizing itself with the economic situation and the situation of the state. It has presented this program. It stands by this program as the only effective one in the extant situation. On the basis of this program negotiations with all those who are ready to support it can be held. These must be program negotiations, for in a situation where certain political forces cut themselves off from this program in an unambiguous way, this is a situation which I must say at the moment harbors little hope for the attainment of a concensus with them. But it could be that a significant change of stance will ensue on this matter. [end recording]

Solidarity Says Government Policy Lacks Solutions

LD0403215292 Warsaw PAP in English 2100 GMT 4 Mar 92

[Text] Gdansk, March 4—Presidium of Solidarity's National Commission reviewed the government assumptions of the socioeconomic policy during a meeting in Gdansk on Wednesday [4 March]. Solidarity activists stressed that the assumptions do not include concrete proposals concerning measures counteracting recession and efficient solutions in regard to unemployment.

The commission expressed the opinion that in case the situation will not be stabilized "we will deal with a wave of strikes," and Solidarity will be forced to support the social protest by announcing a general strike or to give its consent to issue additional bank notes and thus to increase the scale of inflation. The meeting of the presidium was held instead of the envisaged meeting of the National Commission which had to be postponed because of lack of quorum.

OPZZ Says Socioeconomic Policy 'Unacceptable'

LD0303183992 Warsaw PAP in English 2318 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 2—"The presidium of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) said Monday [2 March] after talks with government representatives that the government assumptions of socioeconomic policy for 1992 were unacceptable and demanded corrections. Deputy Chairman of OPZZ Maciej Manicki said that the sides did not change their stands in result of morning talks and the union refused to start the second round, scheduled for the afternoon.

Pawel Luczynski from the Central Planning Office (CUP) reported that the union adopted a benevolent attitude towards the government proposals concerning the tax policy and the budget sphere remunerations however he underlined that the negotiations should be held first at enterprise level. According to the CUP representative, certain OPZZ corrections correspond with government intentions. OPZZ proposals are to be considered during the Sejm's work on the document.

Chairman of Sejm NIK Committee Resigns

LD0403170692 Warsaw PAP in English 1322 GMT 4 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, March 4—Newly elected Chairman of the Supreme Board of Control [NIK] Lech Kaczynskiy on Wednesday [4 March] announced that he will resign as chairman of the Sejm [lower house] Administration and Internal Affairs Committee. Kaczynski announced his decision during today's meeting of the Sejm committee.

Sejm Appoints New National Bank Head

LD0503193492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1725 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Remarks by Sejm Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz at meeting of the Polish Sejm in Warsaw—live]

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, I announce the results of the voting on the appointment of the Polish National Bank chairperson. A total of 353 deputies took part in the voting. The absolute majority is 177 deputies. Those in favor of the resolution: 222 deputies; [applause] against: 96 deputies. Abstentions: 35. I therefore announce that the Sejm has appointed Mrs. Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz to the post of the chair of the Polish National Bank. [applause]

Pensions To Increase by Average of 15 Percent

LD0603085292 Warsaw TVP Television Network in Polish 1830 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Pensions and annuities will increase by an average of 15 percent as of 1 April. The current revision is being applied to gross pensions and annuities. This means that benefits received starting in April will be taxed.

Walesa, Belarussian Foreign Minister Hold Talks

LD0203191892 Warsaw PAP in English 1715 GMT 2 Mar 92

[Text] Warsaw, Mar. 2—President Lech Walesa received the foreign minister of Belarus, Petr Kravchanka, on Monday [2 March] afternoon. During the talks the president drew attention to the necessity of dividing economic from political matters. "Freedom is a love marriage, the economy is a marriage of common sense," he said. Walesa emphasised the need to maintain good contacts in the border areas and that there should be access to places of cultural interest. He said that the Belarussian minority, like the other miorities in Poland, enjoy full legal rights. Minister Kravchanka told Walesa about Belarus's interest in the Polish reform road. President Walesa also extended an invitation to the president of the Belarussian Supreme Council, Stanislaw Szuszkiewicz, to come to Poland on an official visit.

Skubiszewski Examines Nationalism in Europe

AU0603102492 Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 28 Feb 92 p 8

["Exerpts" from speech given by Polish Foreign Minister Krysztof Skubiszewski in Frankfurt/Oder on 21 February at a gathering cosponsored by BERLINER ZEITUNG under the motto "Thinking About Europe"]

[Text] Whenever a country has not been a sovereign state for a very long time and in some cases even for decades, a national way of thinking, instead of thinking along state lines, naturally manifests itself on the threshold of what people have been dreaming about. In this context, young nations must be helped thoroughly and unselfishly to develop their democratic institutions.

The Doctrine Came From the West

Speaking about nationalism as a danger for Europe, we do not mean the entire spectrum of nationalism, or nationalism at any time and in any place, but rather certain of its characteristics, namely, those that could disrupt or destroy European cooperation and European unity. National emancipation has in part contributed toward the disintegration of the USSR, and in part it is the consequence of this disintegration.

In other words, the national factor in policy has an integrative and a disintegrative, a constructive and a destructive force. Let us also realize that nationalism as a political doctrine and practice in Eastern Europe has come from the West, which today is leading the processes of integration and with which the other Europe would like to unite.

What are the causes of the emergence of nationalism, which is manifesting itself more and more clearly in Central and Eastern Europe? The phenomenon itself has always existed. Under Soviet rule, and in Yugoslavia under the rule of the one-party system, it existed in obscurity, or at least in a mitigated form, and it was under control although it appeared occasionally in a distorted form. Now that the hegemony of a foreign power and communism in these countries have been abolished, nationalism has in some cases become an instrument used by politicians and intellectuals attempting to get various negative, particularly political-social, aftereffects of the communist system under control.

The role of nationalism in connection with the abolition of communism should not be overassessed. The "Solidarity" movement in Poland was a national one, but owing to its moral values, it also embodied the negation of nationalism, which was permeated by aggression and unease. Following liberation, national solidarity was beginning to prevail in a number of states or regions seeking to achieve statehood. Meanwhile, people have often pointed out their peculiarities as compared to those of others (much more intensively than they did in the past), and in this case the feeling of superiority was often connected with aversion or even enmity toward other ethnic groups.

The One-Party Dominance of the Soviet System

National rebirth is a natural reaction to the fact that peoples and nations were brought into line by the one-party dominance of the Soviet system. This is particularly clear in the case of peoples with a small population. The Poles have successfully warded off Sovietization (not only but also) because they were relatively strong quantitatively. But in their case, too, nationalism and the tradition of independence played an outstanding role. After the people had to tolerate a power that was based on a foreign doctrine imposing a uniform label on them for almost half a century, the awareness of national peculiarity was bound to revive and became the motor of national and state rebirth. It was all the more natural since the national tradition and the sense of national peculiarity, linked with the postulates of the democratization of the state, economic freedom, and the respect of human rights, represented the basic anti-Soviet force. The "Solidarity" movement in Poland united all of these elements especially well.

To simplify and generalize the problem—nationalism in Eastern and Central Europe has a double intensity. It is much stronger in federal states that are disintegrating; the cases in point are the USSR and Yugoslavia. The situation is different in countries that have a uniform or even composite, but rather constant, structure. Regarding this second state category, it is not the case that a given nation intends to form its own state or an autonomous region of its own, but rather a national

minority defines its position, which changes nothing about the fact that in this case, too, there are also serious conflicts.

Traditions and European Ties

I do not think that nationalism east of Germany is a predominant force. Traditions and European ties are emphasized in Central and East Europe. They never disappeared totally during the era of the division between East and West. In some areas, particularly in the cultural area, they existed with relatively brief interruptions.

Central Europe does not have to become a region marked by sharp national conflicts and nationalist explosions, a region marked by xenophobia and chauvinism. There are dangers in this respect in the former USSR. Central Europe is neither threatened by Balkanization nor by Lebanonization. Some people have exaggeratedly judged territorial conflicts. Poland is not involved in any such conflict and has recognized its borders as permanent. In the southeastern part of our continent, we have, however, a different picture—Yugoslavia. In addition, there are essential dangers in the former Soviet Union. Thus, what the West considers the East must be viewed in a more differentiated way.

On an international basis, work against nationalism and the elimination of its various forms can be carried out in various ways.

Anyone knowing international law rightly claims that the community of European states, and with it the whole world, has a considerable apparatus to settle conflicts between states peacefully. Apparently internal conflicts, such as conflicts between different nations in a state, are a difficult problem. Nowadays, such a situation usually has an international dimension.

To resolve such conflicts, the founding of a European reconciliation and arbitration body within the framework of the CSCE should be promoted.

Regarding conflicts where military force has been used, or where the danger of military force being used is imminent, more far-reaching measures must be taken.

The Yugoslav crisis is a case in point, as are some crises in the East. The Yugoslav crisis surprised a Europe that was not prepared to counteract sharp conflicts of national origin, even though the efforts of the European Communities under the then leadership of the Netherlands deserve our recognition. The Yugoslav crisis is a great challenge to European unity, a test that this unity has failed.

The fact that the new European democracies have joined international organizations that previously were reserved for the West has created essential conditions for the elimination of nationalism. I mean, for instance, membership in the Council of Europe and rapprochement to the European Communities. But perhaps attention should above all be drawn to a new regionalism in central east Europe.

Cooperation between neighbors in border areas, especially those neighbors whose history was stormy, sometimes tragic, and marked by change, is becoming a confidence-building instrument and an instrument of reconciliation not only between states but—and this seems to be more important—on a local basis and in relations between people.

Human Rights for Minorities

A democratic social order is the basis of every satisfactory settlement regarding the position of national (and other) minorities in a state. The state must be ruled by law and must have independent courts. The rights of national minorities are not privileges but human rights and basic liberties enjoyed by the members of national minorities.

The problem of national minorities has a huge dimension on the territory of the former USSR. Some 25 million Russians live outside the borders of the Russian Federation, whereas more than 40 million members of other nationalities live in the Russian state.

Besides economic development, the nationality issue was a central problem in the Soviet Union. The Soviet state has ceased to exist, but the problem is still there. The successor republics have inherited it.

The Commonwealth of Independent States is currently not an antidote to the explosive force of nationalism. The Commonwealth does not even have the simplest mechanism to settle the most important conflicts—the territorial or national problems, or both together, which is a particularly dangerous symbiosis.

Because the CSCE covers this whole huge area today, its tasks regarding the protection of minorities have considerably increased. We are dealing with a new quality. The proposal submitted by the Netherlands to appoint a CSCE commissioner on minority problems, who should mainly have early warning functions, deserves complete support.

Stolojan Discusses Economy, Budget at Briefing

AU0503201092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1941 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/3/1992—The major issues Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan dwelt upon in his Thursday, 5 March, press conference covered the following issues: a) the stoppage of production fall;

Industrial output in January and its tendencies in February 1992 show that the decline of the industrial production has been stopped, stated Romania's Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan at a press conference Thursday, 5 March. I am happy, he added, that the final data for January 1992 confirmed what I had expected and what was natural to happen but had been contradicted by rough estimates. So, the prime minister specified, allow me to remind you that the January 1992 production, though higher by 3.6 per cent than in December 1991, keeping the proportion of the working days, was however 15.6 per cent below January 1991 production, a fact that cannot be overlooked. The preliminary data for February show a constant positive trend. So, practically, it is possible, or, to put it more aptly, together we can revigorate the Romanian economy, the prime minister opined.

b) Collective labor agreements;

Defining the position of the Romanian Government and his personal stand on the issue of the national bargaining agreements, the prime minister pronounced himself for the observance of the legal provisions in the matter, that is for discouraging arbitrary decisions that regard the country's economic life. The system of negotiating the collective bargaining agreements at national, branch and unit levels makes room for the natural tendency to magnify the employees' rights with every level, the competition between salary bench-marks arising from the existence, concomitantly, of several national collective labour agreements and from the emergence of new such agreements. Besides the mushrooming tendency of these agreements, the prime minister cautioned upon the danger that these might be imposed nationwide and, with them, provisions disregarding the concrete situation of production units, their sometimes fragile and specific conditions. Under such circumstances, the government had to reconsider the means by which it could ensure economic stability, despite the deep structural changes in the Romanian economy, all while the unions were pressing for a speedy conclusion of the agreements, eager to further negotiations at branch and unit levels. Our view was to inform the union leaders that to break the deadlock reached in the matter of the collective bargaining agreements did not require the automatic salary indexation, as had been done in the previous months, but the appraisal of the results of the unit negotiations. Therefore, the premier stressed, in a month or six weeks at the latest, we should know precisely what has resulted from the nationwide negotiation of the collective bargaining agreements. We cannot apply indexation by the established rules before we know the conclusions drawn at unit level.

c) The transition to a free market economy;

We have commenced the third month of the third year since Romania embarked on the transition to a market economy. The economic reform is necessary as the only way in which economic agents can be faced with having to respond to the real demand of the market, in that they will have to appreciate what, how and how much to produce. In other words, to give the citizens of Romania the opportunity to enjoy the products and services they need at the most convenient prices. At a first glance, the results fail to meet our expectations, some of them are even worse than we could imagine, others appear quite contradictory. But without an economic reform we cannot attain the goal we have proposed. So far we have laid the economic activities on commercial bases. In some places things are going on well: there, decision-makers act for the interest of their companies and employees, but there are many cases of managers that have taken common property for their own. The frustration many of our fellow citizens feel in such cases is quite normal. It is not acceptable that most of the people should bear the brunt of the transition, while a few just pick its fruit through corruption and abuse. We shall take action to correct this state of things.

Prime Minister Stolojan stressed that the reform in agriculture must further concentrate on harmonizing the new form of ownership with the infrastructure of services.

He pointed out that, although the national currency's internal convertibility was achieved, the very economic reform was at stake in the near future if external financial input failed to compensate for the disbalance between imports and exports.

d) The optimum time for general elections;

For the general elections, the government considers the date of 17 May as the most appropriate. This would imply the adoption by parliament of the fundamental relevant laws by 17 March. For the moment, however, the prime minister said, the legislative body has not started debates on the said bills. I see it as my duty, the prime minister underlined, to stress once more, though I think this is hardly necessary, that the general elections are a necessity for this country and they should be held as soon as possible, that is in the first half of the year and not later, so that all the political structures and political forces in the executive should be able to assume responsibilities this very year.

Romania's trade deficit in 1992 will amount to about 1.5 billion dollars, Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan stated at the press conference of today, Thursday, 5 March.

Two are the ways to eliminate the deficit: one is to bring down imports to exports level, which "would seriously affect the national economy," because imports include

the main energy and raw material resources, without which the national economy would collapse; the second lies in the external financing of the commercial disbalance, through credits granted to Romania by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Group of 24.

In the Romanian prime minister's view, "the latter is the only viable solution."

Roman Presents FSN Program for New Policy

AU0403211692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1918 GMT 4 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 4/3/1992—"On the great seal of our programme for a new national policy lies the motto a place for everyone, a country for all" the motto defines the programme of the National Salvation Front [FSN], called "Future Today" these were the words with which the FSN national leader Petre Roman commenced the presentation of the Platform Programme of the ruling party, before the press and some of the party's members, at a gathering Wednesday, 4 March, at Dacia Club in Bucharest.

"The main political task of the FSN is to center the state on the nation," the FSN national leader said. While talking about aspects of economic restructuring, the most sensitive part of the reform, Petre Roman underlined the fact that it was the Front that initiated the economic reform in Romania, reintegrated the Romanian economy in the major trend of changes in the whole central and Eastern Europe, firmly rejecting any approach in "perestroyka" style and promoting in Romania the genuine values of the advanced Western economy.

As priorities of the FSN's foreign policy, its leader named the national reunification of Romania, its integration in reliable international security systems. From this point of view, Petre Roman laid a particular stress on the role of the Army and on the importance to be given to this fundamental institution of the state of law.

Mr. Roman expressed the opinion that, despite the loss of popularity, the FSN won 34 percent in the recent local elections, as against the 24 percent of the Democratic Convention, which "proves that, before the nation, the National Salvation Front still stands as the main hope and the main party the country and its people need."

Senators Sign Motion To Change FSN Statute

AU0403174192 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 27 Feb 92 p 1

[Andrei Alexandru article: "National Salvation Front: Changes To Be Expected at the Top"]

[Text] After the unsatisfactory results obtained by the National Salvation Front [FSN] in the local elections, I would have expected the leadership of this party to immediately begin a thorough examination of the causes that led to such regression and would start defining the strategy for the upcoming elections. However, for the time being, the FSN national leader, Mr. Petre Roman, is in... Switzerland, and upon his return he will have a surprise that is signed by over 100 FSN senators and deputies, a surprise that is called: "The Motion of the Group for Unity of the FSN With a View to the National Convention of March 1992."

The motion has a pragmatic content, and one of its chapters seems to forecast changes in the leadership of this party: "Within the FSN no group or leader can monopolize the leadership of the party and cannot have a privileged position in defining its policy and in appointing the members of its leading bodies. In conclusion, it is necessary to eliminate the provisions of the current statute regarding the national leader and those that refer to the legal members of the Steering Collegium and of the Consultative Committee, provisions that are at variance with the internal democracy. We are against any identification of the role of one or another of the political leaders of the party with the person of the leader himself, as it is stated in the current FSN Statute."

Could this motion be a preamble to the removal of Mr. Roman from the helm of the FSN? We still have to wait for about a month, then we will have the answer.

Two Deputy Mayors Elected in Bucharest 4 Mar

AU0403213492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 92

[Text] The Local Council of Bucharest Municipality today held an extraordinary meeting at Bucharest's Town Hall. In accordance with government Decision No. 59 of 1991, two deputy mayors were elected by secret ballot from among the councillors in Bucharest Municipality. After the vote counting by the Validation Commission, Mr. Iulian Cretu, representative of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, and Mr. Lucian Radu, representative of the Civic Alliance Party—both belonging to the Democratic Convention—were elected vice mayors.

New Bucharest Mayor To Weed Out Corruption

AU0403151792 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Feb 92 pp 1,3

[Second part of interview with newly elected General Mayor of Bucharest Crin Halaicu by Sergiu Andon; place and date not given: "Between Prefects and Deputy Mayors—Half a Million Votes"]

[Excerpts] [Andon] You have stated in several of your public declarations that you are going to start your activity by going through the files of the Mayoralty. What kind of incorrect things do you expect to discover?

[Halaicu] I believe that something incorrect has happened to the entire area of construction. Otherwise, I do not understand how for the past two years one could hear

that buildings are being put up for auction to make the sums obtained in this way available for the completion of those buildings and that apartments occupied by tenants have also been sold to procure funds, however the work sites have not progressed at all, and the money obtained from the Mayoralty is gone, and we do not know what happened with it. Likewise, I do not understand how almost none of the serious firms could obtain locations in Bucharest, while all kinds of obscure firms received favorable answers.

[Andon] Do you hope to also discover certain aspects of corruption?

[Halaicu] One can suspect that acts of corruption have been committed, and I am determined to follow through on this to the end, even if the tracks lead to the Mayoralty.

[Andon] Are you also concerned with a new institution-citizen relationship? If yes, how do you expect to achieve it?

[Halaicu] I hope that this relationship can be achieved primarily through decentralization. The Bucharest Mayoralty should solve the strategic questions and general problems; the problems concerning current life should be solved by sectors, and within these sectors, at the lowest possible level of competence. The citizen should know exactly who is the competent clerk who can solve his problem and he should go and see that clerk and only that one. Through a modern, Western type system, people should know exactly to whom they have to turn and with whom they should talk.

[Andon] What happens if the respective clerk is reluctant to deal with the problem?

[Halaicu] If he does not make a decision or if he makes the wrong decision, it means that he is not competent, and he should be replaced. In our country clerks are used to go to the chief for every decision, that chief went to a higher chief, and so on. We must find suitable people for every positions and make them work differently than they used to.

[Andon] This would be very useful, but do you believe that such a type of work can ever be achieved in our country?

[Halaicu] This existed even before, for example at the Telephone Society, which was famous for the correctness of its services. I know it from my father. [passage omitted]

[Andon] What do you think about the cooperation with the prefect of Bucharest? Many people are questioning the motives for his appointment precisely at this time.

[Halaicu] This position is included in the law of local administration and must be observed, although it has no connection with our traditions or the needs of our capital city. Our tradition does not include a prefect with duties that run parallel to the mayor's duties, but a prefect of the police; however, this requires legal changes. However, even taking into account the current regulations, I believe that the prefect should be appointed from among those people who belong to the group that has the greatest representation in a certain area.

[Andon] This is an opinion. However, I want to ask you from the point of view of his duties, can the prefect help or disturb the activity of the general mayor?

[Halaicu] In accordance with the law, the prefect has parallel duties with the mayor. Certainly, he can disturb the mayor's activity. For example, he is leading the activity in education, but the buildings where the educational process in carried out belong to the Mayoralty. If one is thinking in a destructive manner (I am not referring to Mr. Doru Pana, but I am saying what can happen in principle), the prefect can block the popular vote. In provinces the situation is different, there the prefect is leading the entire county, and he represents the government on a larger territory. While here, the government is present. Certainly, I will observe the law, but if anybody thought of resorting to coercive means against me, they made a mistake. I am backed by 500,000 votes, and on their behalf I can take a stand.

[Andon] What do you think about demonstrations and politics carried out in the street?

[Halaicu] I do not agree with politics carried out in the for a very clear reason: In our country the disinformation services and the act of channeling various attitudes are so well done that the politics carried out in the street can appear only in a distorted manner.

[Andon] Is this a new idea of yours?

[Halaicu] No, this is an older opinion of mine. I think that rallies held in stadiums and in halls or in any other such limited areas are more acceptable.

[Andon] Are you not afraid that they remind people of Kim Il-song and Ceausescu?

[Halaicu] No, I am not, because the content of these rallies and the people's freedom to be able to express themselves during those events are important.

[Andon] Have you thought about certain deputy mayors?

[Halaicu] They are elected by the local counselors, while we have only 32 seats out of 75 in the council. The struggle to appoint competent and honest deputy mayors will be even more difficult because the government issued its Decision No. 59, which is illegal because it makes an addition to the law, stipulating that the deputy mayors should be elected from among counselors. I will study the law more carefully, and I will not permit the election of certain deputy mayors if they are not good.

[Andon] Will the Democratic Convention be more than just an electoral alliance?

[Halaicu] Our objective was not to seize power. We have started together, so we have to conclude the mandate together, too. I hope to cooperate with the FSN, too, on the basis of the idea that its representatives are elected to cooperate and thus to solve people's problems together. I am counting on cooperation on the condition that I am not blocked in my attempt to bring light into the deepest corners.

PNL Favors Preserving Opposition's Unity

AU0503120792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0924 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 5/3/1992—The National Liberal Party [PNL] reasserts its determination to take action to maintain the unity of opposition in the perspective of future parliamentary and presidential elections in Romania, reads a statement of that political formation sent to ROMPRES.

The statement also emphasises that the National Liberal Party participated in the Democratic Convention, political cartel made up for the February 9 local elections, "with all its strength and nobody can deny its real contribution in getting positive results." The National Liberal Party appreciates that the final results of those elections should be deeply analysed and the ways of collaboration within the Democratic Convention can be rethought only on that basis. The statement calls for the elaboration of a strategy which "should offer real chances for the setting up of a balanced parliament with an important participation of the representative historical parties."

Nastase Says Hungarian Relations 'Not Good'

AU0503230492 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2022 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Interview with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase by Nicu Popescu; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Popescu] On 3 March, the UN Commission for Human Rights that met in Geneva adopted by consensus a resolution regarding the situation of human rights in Romania, through which the mandate of the special monitor of the commission concludes in Romania. During the debates, numerous speakers appreciated the progress made by Romania toward improving the human rights situation with only one exception, that of the representative of Hungary, who insisted for the extension of the mandate of the special monitor, or at least for the appointment of an international expert to follow the situation in Romania. What do you believe, Minister Nastase, determined this attitude from the Hungarian representative?

[Nastase] We were really surprised by this attitude, the more so since on various occasions official Hungarian representatives have assured us of Hungary's support in various international bodies, including the Council of Europe, where human rights is a topical issue. This attitude, just like the statements about the alleged violations of human rights, mainly those connected with minorities and persons who belong to ethnic minorities in Romania, are certainly not based on facts, and I believe that they are exclusively politically motivated. There are clear signs, however, that the propagandist positions taken by the Hungarian representatives in various international organizations have lost their credibility and become boring. No one in the UN Commission for Human Rights has made statements similar to the ones' of the Hungarian representative in connection with the human rights situation in Romania. Nevertheless, his lone voice could not alter the decision of the some 20 co-authors of the UN Commission resolution—their great majority representing states with long democratic traditions—to put an end to the mandate of the special monitor for Romania.

As a matter of fact, this was the only resolution regarding human rights in a country that did not provoke any discussions at the moment of its endorsement. Moreover, in a direct competition, in which the Romanian representative competed side by side with the representatives of Hungary, Poland, and Ukraine for the two places for East European countries in the UN subcommission against discrimination and for the protection of minorities, the Romanian representative was the only one who won on the first ballot the necessary votes for election, although several polls were organized and so far no one has been elected to the second place. This also is significant. In any event, it tells us that propaganda, no matter how well sustained and orchestrated, has its limits and it cannot be imposed for long against reality.

[Popescu] Mr. Minister, the news media in both countries are focusing again on Romanian-Hungarian relations, especially after the recent declarations of the Romanian Foreign Ministry. We would like to hear your opinions on Romanian-Hungarian relations.

[Nastase] Unfortunately, I cannot say say very good things about Romanian-Hungarian relations at this moment, although we have registered in a positive political light the recent visits to Bucharest by the delegation led by the president of the commission on foreign policy of the Hungarian parliament, the delegation of the group for friendship with Romania in the Hungarian parliament, and of the delegation of the Hungarian Defense Ministry. Several members of the Romanian Government have visited Budapest, as well as many delegations from certain political groups and nongovernmental bodies. At the same time, we have in Budapest one of Romania's best-staffed diplomatic missions. In conclusion, whether I am thinking of Parliament, the government, diplomats, or nongovernmental organizations, I can deduce only that it is not because of us that the relations between Romania and Hungary are not good. These relations could be qualified as being unsatisfactory, unfortunately. As far as we are concerned, we can only continue to apply in our relations with Hungary the same policy of neighborliness that we are consistently promoting with our other neighbors.

Our principles are European principles, namely democracy, human rights, and the rights of ethnic minorities.

Today these principles are generally accepted in Europe and tend to be accepted worldwide. Our government bases all its actions on these principles and is keenly interested in their observance. If Hungary would also endorse these European principles, expressed in the CSCE documents and the documents of the Council of Europe—and not reformulate them in order to promote its unilateral positions, thus proving that it really wants to integrate in Europe as it constantly claims—I believe that Hungary will choose the only possible solution in Europe, that of adjusting itself to the European way of thinking. This means that Hungary should respect these principles in its relations with Romania. When and if this happens, then I am sure that Romanian-Hungarian relations will improve radically.

[Popescu] Reacting to the declaration of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the spokesman of the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Ministry said that the Romanian Foreign Ministry deliberately misinterpreted the declarations of certain Hungarian political leaders and that Hungary has repeatedly said that it has no territorial claims against anyone. He mentioned in this context that Hungary signed the Final Helsinki Act that established the prohibition to modify frontiers through force.

[Nastase] Unfortunately I cannot comment on the problem of misinterpretation because we were not told what we had misinterpreted and what were the effective positions of the two members of the Hungarian Government who decided to issue that declaration.

As far as we are concerned, we took our position in connection with their statements as reported by the Hungarian press. As a matter of fact, according to our information, the statements of Minister Fur were reaffirmed in the same terms in an interview with the BBC and broadcast on 25 February.

In addition, I would like to say that by now we are used to this technique of Hungarian diplomacts of making a statement or issuing a communique in which they say certain things to which, if we react, we are told that the particular declaration or communique was misunderstood or that the translation was mistaken.

As far as the second issue is concerned, namely the fact that Hungary signed the Final Helsinki Act that prohibits the modification of borders through force, I believe that we must clarify certain things. We do not doubt Hungary's adherence to this principle in the final act that excludes the change of borders through force. We do not fear the change of borders through force. Actually, I do not even believe that from a military point of view Hungary could consider such an objective, which, in addition, would not even be permitted in Europe.

This is also one of the motives that permits the relations on a military line between the two countries to be "excellent"—I quote. The basic problem comes under different parameters. Public opinion in Romania has the feeling—created by the multitude of signals received over time, especially in the past two years—that what is actually intended is an attempt to create an international situation that would justify a modification of borders—I quote again—through peaceful means. I am talking about a series of signals contained in the declarations of certain officials, followed by the withdrawal of those declarations, sometimes in ambiguous ways, of actions and positions in various organizations and international conferences. These include the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the CSCE meetings in particular, systematic actions of many nongovernmental organizations, all kinds of associations in Hungary and abroad, the Hungarian anti-Romanian lobby in various countries and especially the United States, and last but not least, the Hungarian news media. They are all trying to give the international community the impression that the Hungarian minority in Transylvania is persecuted and, at the same time, to incite the Hungarian minority in Romania. To the Romanian people, the idea of modifying borders through peaceful means—I use quotes again—has a special significance. The Vienna diktat in 1940 was also presented as a "modification of borders through peaceful means." Those who imposed them, at that time called it arbitration. It is well known that arbitration is indeed a means of peacefully settling differences. It is worth mentioning in this context that the Hungarian politology considered and is still considering the 1940 Act of Vienna as an arbitration and not as a diktat. These suspicions of the Romanian people, constantly fed by elements that I mentioned, could be eliminated through clarifications that we asked for: Through the bilateral neighborliness treaty, that is, to unequivocally mention in this treaty—not that the border between Hungary and Romania will not be modified through force because this is not in doubt— but that the two countries do not have territorial claims on each other now or in the future.

[Popescu] One of the reactions to the declaration of the Romanian Foreign Ministry was that it had electoral significance, as it was made before the runoffs in the local elections.

[Nastase] Such an interpretation is groundless. First of all it was not us who chose the moment. Our declaration was forced, if I may say, by the declarations of the two members of the Hungarian Government on 14 and 19 February respectively. If we were to judge in these terms, it would be us who could see in the two declarations their intentions of influencing the local elections in Romania. On the other hand, our minister of foreign affairs, as a clear rule, does not interfere in the political life of the country, a rule that we strive to apply strictly. Precisely that is the reason why we issued a statement from the Foreign Ministry and did not advise the government to do it, as perhaps would have been normal, because it was a position taken in connection with a declaration

expressed by two members of the Hungarian Government. Had it been a government declaration, one could have speculated that perhaps the government had electoral goals.

[Popescu] Even if it was not determined by electoral considerations, the Foreign Ministry statement nevertheless had an internal echo, as numerous examples in the Romanian press and even statements by of certain political parties can testify.

[Nastase] The signs that I was talking about and particularly the declarations by responsible parties in Hungary, in the government, parliament, or leaders of political parties, the kind that we referred to in our ministry statement, evidently stimulate nationalist extremism in Romania, including nationalism among the ethnic Hungarians, and is counterproductive to our democratization process and stabilization of our political life. This is one of the theses that the anti-Romanian propaganda in Hungary and in other countries is counting on, trying to develop the perception that Romania could not become a democratic and politically stable country. Secondly we cannot help mentioning that the Hungarian representatives systematically refer to the alleged lack of rights of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, something that strengthens our feeling that the problem of minority rights is used as a substitute for territorial revisionism. It is clear for us that the key word—I am not campaigning for votes here—is neither the word rights nor Hungarian minority, but Transylvania, because if not, the Hungarian representatives would refer to the rights of the Hungarian minority in Romania and not in Transylvania. Thus, we are facing a situation that affects the territorial integrity of our country, and it is the duty of the Foreign Ministry to note these situations when they become subject to concern and take clear positions in accordance with the national interests.

Unfortunately, these are real situations and not imaginary ones, aimed at diverting the attention of our people from the difficult problems confronting us in this transition period, and which do nothing but complicate resolution of these problems. As far as we are concerned, we are interested in normalizing these relations and we will do all we can to normalize Romanian-Hungarian relations. We hope that through joint efforts we will be able to overcome the problems that currently hamper bilateral relations. We are optimistic about the treaty of cooperation and neighborliness, for which negotiations have begun. I believe that the signing of this treaty will bring about the elimination of the current psychological obstacles and be able to mark a new start and solid basis for the development of bilateral relations. Likewise, we count on the support of the Western community in favoring a positive evolution of political relations in this part of Europe, which is essential for the construction of the new European architecture.

International

Yugoslav Republics To Receive Aid from EC

LD0503232292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2123 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 5 (TANJUG)—The European Commission in Brussels decided today to sent the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina aid in food for around 100,000 refugees who fled there from the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. The aid, 1,500 tons of wheat flour, will be sent through the U.N. high commissioner for refugees, as was announced in Brussels today.

As was learned in Paris, the mission of the French association "Architects without Borders" today left for Croatia to prepare blue-prints for facilities where the population, which has been left here without a roof over its head during the current war, is to be accomodated temporarily. There are around 200,000 people [word indistict] Croatia who fled to other parts of the republic not stricken by war.

Thirty-eight tons of medical equipments, medicaments and food today left Strasbourg for Vukovar, into which life and Serbs, who fled it, have gradually been returning, although it was completely destroyed during its liberation in mid-November. Part of the aid will also be sent to refugees in Banja Luka, in the Bosnia Krajina. According to the latest figures, there are over 160,000 Serbian refugees from Croatia in Serbia at the moment. Representatives of the E.C. monitor mission and the UNICEF in Belgrade will tomorrow send aid for babies in the five refugee centers in Serbia. As the E.C. monitor mission office in Belgrade announced today, this is the first delivery of the kind and it is worth 50,000 dollars. It is intended for children of Serbian refugees from Croatia.

Baker's Statement on Recognition Considered

92BA0591A Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Vladimir Drobnjak: "What Did James Baker Really Say?"]

[Text] HINA—What did Secretary of State James Baker say (on Tuesday) when he appeared before the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Policy Operations? The answer of the man in American diplomacy to a question about official Washington's policy towards the area of the former Yugoslavia can be compressed into the statement that America is reassessing on a daily basis the question of recognition of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and the other republics, but the final decision on recognition of their sovereignty and independence will be forthcoming when the administration of George Bush estimates in pragmatic terms that that act contributes to the stability of the broader space of Europe. Baker pointed out that America understands the aspirations of Croatia and the other republics, but it wants to decide the question of recognition of realities in public law within the entire context of the strategic preservation of European stability and compliance with the principles of the KESS [Conference on European Security and Cooperation].

It remains unclear why the Voice of America radio network reported Baker's appearance on Capitol Hill inaccurately (and indeed maliciously), with a nimble change in the meaning of his words. For example, Baker did not say that American recognition of the independence of Croatia and Slovenia would signify violation of the principle of the ban on change of borders in Europe by force, but that is exactly how the Voice of America reported it. Baker did not explicitly emphasize opposition to the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia (as reported by the Voice of America), nor in a single word did he offer occasion for that conclusion that an essential departure from current policy towards that part of Europe had occurred in the State Department.

On Wednesday, the State Department refused official comment on the discrepancy between Baker's words and the report of the Voice of America, but referred newsmen seeking clarification to the transcript of the exchange in the Senate subcommittee. In the State Department press room, the VJESNIK correspondent was told unofficially that the report of the Voice of America does not reflect American views and policy in the Balkans, but he did not rule out the possibility that in coming days the U.S. Government would make an official announcement to clear up the unnecessary and harmful perplexities.

The Transcript

As for the information contained in Baker's statement, HINA [Croatian News Agency] is publishing below an unofficial translation of excerpts from the transcript of the Senate subcommittee's hearing. The transcript was obtained from the American consulate general in Zagreb.

[Senator Nickles] Will we soon recognize Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and the others?

[Baker] We are examining our policy concerning recognition with respect for the Yugoslav republics almost every day or week, Senator Nickles, and to a large extent we are guided in our approach by what the UN secretary general and his special emissary tell us they think would be best to support prospects for peace in Yugoslavia. We are now in the process, as you know, we—meaning the UN—of sending peacekeeping forces to Yugoslavia. And so long as we are told that it would be counterproductive to go forward, we will hold back, but we are following this on an almost daily basis. With respect toward Yugoslavia, we have supported the efforts of the EC and the United Nations and will continue to do so.

[Senator D'Amato] Mr. Secretary of State, I am deeply pained, and as are many, many Americans, and I think that it is an oversimplification to say that we are looking to the United Nations and the EC, especially when I see

perhaps 30 or more states, mostly European, that have recognized Croatia. I do not understand how come, when a people wants freedom, rises up for it, and is willing to give lives for it on the front, why we should be slavishly devoted to the a policy that says that we only take our lead from the United Nations.

[Baker] We are not taking our lead, Senator; allow me to explain this, since you have raised a good question, and I... Do you know that a few months ago we had a meeting of the UN Security Council? At the ministerial level where I took part, we severely condemned what Serbia was doing, and we said clearly that we did not approve of that at all.

However, having said that, allow me to say that I must tell you that in my opinion there is much blame on everyone in Yugoslavia. We are now dealing with all the new independent states that have come out of the Soviet Union, and we are going to every leader and saying: "What we really want more than anything is for you to sign your name to the principles of the KESS—respect for human rights, respect for the rights of minorities, respect for borders, and border changes only by peaceful means."

We now have many ethnic groups all over Europe and in that part of Europe, including Yugoslavia and the Balkans and the former Soviet Union. We support self-determination when it occurs peacefully, and we have always said that we will support everything the parties agree to in negotiations and by peaceful means, and those are the obligations and principles of the KESS.

We have a situation here where for sound reasons, which we understand and respect, a group of countries say: "We are proclaiming independence, and we want to be recognized by the international community." Fine. We will be seeing much more of that in the future.

But then they take additional steps by forceful means, and this is where we get into trouble, and then we say: "If you do that, that will cause civil war." And actually it did cause it. Now we have civil war in Yugoslavia. Why do we have it? We have it because there was a forcible capture of border stations, and there was also use of force in order to support the proclamation of independence.

That is what I am referring to, Senator, when I say that there has been a great deal of blame there. We fiercely condemned Serbia's actions, and we will continue to reassess our policy on recognition.

However, when once we give in to the idea that a small group can proclaim independence and then use force to support that independence, then the principle disappears. And the principles of the KESS, which we have signed and which have been signed by all other countries, and which are so important, have been trampled on. That is the enigma we have been facing. Nevertheless, we understand the desire of peoples for independence.

Interrepublic

Serbian, Macedonian Talks Stalled

LD0503201492 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0427 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 5 (TANJUG)—Two Serbian-Macedonian high-level meetings on the same day, last Tuesday, did not contribute to easing tense relations between Yugoslavia's two next-door neighbour republics. The two republics' premiers did not manage to come to terms on improving economic cooperation, and the meeting of the topmost dignitaries of the Serbian and Macedonian orthodox churches, though maybe more promising one, ended without palpable results.

At the level of states, relations between Serbia and Macedonia took a turn for the worse by reason of [word indistinct] seeking to secede from Yugoslavia and proclaim its own state. This was followed by sharp attacks from among some Macedonian parties on Serbia's policy and by adding more strain to the Macedonian authorities' already bad treatment of the Serbian minority overwhelmingly concentrated in Macedonia's areas bordering on Serbia.

The above-mentioned Serbian-Macedonian talks were aimed at advancing economic cooperation by way of Serbia's increasing its deliveries of food to Macedonia and by major Serbian purchases from a narrow choice of Macedonian goods. Anyhow, Serbia's premier, Dr. Radoman Bozovic, lacked trust in Macedonia's monetary policy, facing serious evidence of the Skopje government's possibly going to issue its own currency before long. Macedonia's premier, Nikola Kljusev, made an attempt to do away with such fears. It is hinted is that he has not made a success of such an effort for the time being. The Yugoslav Army's withdrawing its units from Macedonia, also seen as an omen of Macedonia's secession, is giving food to mistrust felt in Belgrade.

Unlike neighbouring Bulgaria and neighbouring Greece, Serbia also formally recognizes the Macedonian nation, but the Macedonians nevertheless claim that Belgrade has pretensions to the Macedonian territory, for all that for such claims they lack strong enough proof. One of the proofs to which Macedonian nationalists usually resort is the [word indistinct] the Serbian Orthodox Church does not recognize the Macedonian Church substantiveness, since it one-sidedly broke away from the Belgrade Patriarchate in 1967. The Macedonian Church says that the Macedonian Church broke away under the influence of political reasons. The state of Macedonia, made substantive in Tito's federally-confederal Yugoslavia, needed a church to fit.

The recently held meeting of the two Church leaders passed in the absence of Archbishop Gavrilo, head of the Macedonian Church. And this, it is claimed, brought about displeasure of Serbia's church. Anyhow, being seen from the announcement is that the talks were held

"in a fraternal atmosphere" and in the search of establishing liturgical and canonical togetherness. This is indicative of a possibility for church dignitaries to maybe find out the way to some form of cooperation before politicians do so.

Talks between the two churches' representatives are also explained away by the current split in the Macedonian Church arisen by reason of non-acceptance of some church authorities to have politicians arrange church relations. In the estimates of those in the know of the situation in the Macedonian Orthodox Church, a group there feels dissatisfied with both interventions by secular authorities (they went so far as to influence the appointment of leadig church dignataries) and with the steadily growing Macedonian Orthodox Church's coming closer to the Vatican. For, this church having not been recognized by any major orthodox church in the world, the Skopje-seated synod turned its eyes to the Holy See in Rome, seeking support for its autocephaly (for having its own head or chief bishop). The Macedonian Orthodox Church is thought of as being the only one orthodox church to maintain cordial relations with the Vatican.

The current trends in relations between Serbia and Macedonia go the way, however, on which it would not be illogical to expect an effect running counter to the so-far one: to have churches unite, or advance their cooperation at least, in the period in which states disunite and have their relations take a turn for the worse.

But all has not yet been said. In this unpredictable part of the Balkans the unknowns are the course of possible goings-on outide of Serbia and Macedonia, the European Community (EC) and the U.S. policies and the stands of the next-door neighbours, i.e. of Bulgaria and Greece. Bulgaria does recognize Macedonia, but not the Macedonian nation as well, while Greece does not recognize either of them and benefits from its influence to postpone granting recognition to a possibly independent Macedonia. In between, Macedonia's economic crisis is gaining in heaviness, but it seems that Skopje is ot going to remain in the newly-created federal state of Yugoslavia which, for the time being, has only two republics for sure—Serbia and Montenegro.

It remains to be seen whether some more flexible form of together [word indistinct] Macedonia's separatism will be found, as well as to lessen economic problems now pressing heavily on Macedonia. To the thinking of some analysts, the Skopje government could look for such a form not only in a rump [as received] Yugoslavia, but also, possibly, with Bulgaria or, even, with neighbouring Albania. The last two mentioned variants are believed to be, anyhow, more theoretically than really possible.

Slovenia, Croatia To Expedite Border Crossings

92BA0568B Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
20 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by Boris Suligoj: "More Open Border Between Slovenia and Croatia"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] The countries will liberalize traffic on their common border; special driving zone; maritime border?

Koper, 19 Feb—Slovenia wants to have its border with Croatia as open as the borders between West European states. It cannot act like Europe now, however. Specifically, if it relaxes its border with Croatia more, Europe would close its border with Slovenia more. This was stated by Igor Bavcar at a meeting of the Koper opstina assembly of the Democratic Party.

Igor Bavcar emphasized that until the end of last May, about 11,000 illegal border crossings from Slovenia into Europe were noted. After the establishment of the border with Croatia, this number was reduced to a tenth. That is why the supervisory bodies in Italy and Austria are particularly satisfied. A second reason for maintaining relatively strict control at the Slovene-Croatian border is that we in Slovenia can still expect revanchist actions.

Igor Bavcar said that in the talks to date, Slovenia and Croatia had dealt particularly with the problem of tourist traffic. The two countries decided to liberalize traffic on this border as much as possible. Where technically feasible, they intend to introduce a special driving zone, in which citizens of Slovenia and Croatia will cross the border unhindered, without being stopped and searched—just as it is done now between EC countries. "Such a measure would greatly reduce tensions between the neighbors," Igor Bavcar thought. He added that with respect to settling the border issue, it was a fortunate circumstance that Slovenia and Croatia did not have any territorial claims against each other. All the problems could be solved in accordance with the principle of good-neighborliness and reciprocity. Of course, there are also certain disputed issues, such as, for example, 307 hectares of territory because of differences in survey data, but the delineation process would still last for some time, since experts would have to travel over and mark the entire border. In Bavcar's opinion, the issue of Zumberk and the maritime border could be solved in a relatively short time, without harming either state.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Vance, Izetbegovic on Sarajevo Talks

AU0503161492 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Our reporter Radovan Pantovic has just given us a report from Sarajevo and details on the talks between Cyrus Vance and party leaders in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Begin Pantovic recording] Cyrus Vance ended his talks with Alija Izetbegovic [president of the Party of Democratic Action] in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency about 10 minutes ago. In a short news conference immediately after the meeting, Vance said that he hoped that the situation in Bosnia would be resolved with political negotiations between the national leaders here.

Vance repeated that between 200 and 300 members of the UN peacekeeping forces will arrive in Yugoslavia next week. The whole contingent of 1,000, or rather 13,000, soldiers will arrive in groups of 400 to make up 12 battalions by the middle of April at the latest. Vance stressed that the Croatian and Yugoslav Army forces would have left the crisis zones by then.

Vance confirmed that despite some rumors, the main headquarters of the UN forces will be stationed in Sarajevo.

Izetbegovic said that the envoy of the UN secretary general had brought good news, and he hoped that the scheduled talks in Brussels would bring a political solution to the Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslav crisis. He then reiterated his well-known stands on solving this crisis. At this moment, Vance is having talks with Radovan Karadzic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party. [end recording]

UN Team To Arrive 'Next Week'

LD0603000692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1808 GMT 5 Mar 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Sarajevo, Mar 5 (TANJUG)—An advance U.N. team, made up of leading personages of the U.N. peace mission for Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) will arrive in Sarajevo, capital of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, early next week, as special U.N. envoy for Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance said today after conferring with Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic.

Vance repeated what he had said yestereay on arriving in Yugoslavia, i.e., that the latest developments in Bosnia-Hercegovina would not affect the decision for the main UNPROFOR headquarters to be based in Sarajevo.

Vance said that the presence of the UNPROFOR headquarters in Sarajevo should reduce the current tensions in Bosnia-Hercegovina and create a positive framework for the resumption of the political talks on the future of that republic and the solution of the Yugoslav crisis. Inter-ethnic conflicts broke out in Bosnia-Hercegovina last weekend. Several people were killed and quite a few wounded on the barricades which were put up first by Serbs and then Muslims and Croats, too. The unrest broke out on the second day of a referendum in which Muslims and Croats voted for the republic's independence. The referendum was boycotted by Serbs, who insist on remaining in Yugoslavia. Vance said that the advance U.N. team would number 200 people and that the rest will follow. An average of around 400 U.N. troops will arrive daily until the set quota of 14,000 U.N. peacekeeping troops, i.e., 12 battalions, is fulfilled. Vance confirmed that a big logistics centre would be based also in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in the town of Banja Luka, the region of [words indistinct] a majority, as envisaged under the U.N. peace plan. Izetbegovic said he had discussed with Vance the position of the army in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the talks which are to be resumed within the Conference on Yugoslavia on March 9.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina (?Presidency president) said the republic was interested in maintaning cooperation with the former Yugoslav republics, especially at the economic level. Izetbegovic said that Vance had accepted with understanding the option of open and customs-free borders.

Izetbegovic set out that the peace conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina would resume work in Brussels on Saturday afternoon.

The leader of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS), a party which makes up the ruling coalitiov together with the Muslim Democratic Action Party (SDA) and the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), confirmed today that he would attend the talks to be held in Brussels under E.C. aegis.

Karadzic Accuses Bosnia of 'Twisting' Agreements

LD0503181892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, Mar 5 (TANJUG)—President of the Serbian Democratic Party [SDS] of Bosnia-Hercegovina Radovan Karadzic on Thursday accused Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic of "twisting every agreement achieved," with which he was "irritating" the Serbian population of the republic.

Karadzic told a news conference that the same applied to the agreement achieved at the international conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Lisbon, where it was "agreed that Bosnia-Hercegovina not be unitarian."

Following the accord reached between the three national parties at the Lisbon round of the conference on the cantonization of the republic on ethnic principles, Izetbegovic disputed the agreement. Bosnia-Hercegovina is ruled by a coalition of three national parties—the Party of Democratic Action (Muslim), the Serbian Democratic Party and the Croatian Democratic Union. The SDS said in a statement published on Thursday that the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina must be continued and the accord from Lisbon taken into consideration since a final agreement can only be reached through political negotiations, while taking into account the interests of all. Karadzic said today that after the killing of a Serb and the wounding of a Serb orthodox priest at a wedding party over the weekend, "a unified Bosnia-Hercegovina no longer exists."

The killing in the center of Sarajevo was only a motive for the clashes which ensued in Sarajevo and other cities in the republic. The real reason lies in disagreement among the republic's three biggest peoples—the Muslims, Serbs and Croats—on the future state and legal organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The two leading

opposition parties in the republic—the Socialist Democratic Party and the Alliance of Reformist Forces of Yugoslavia for Bosnia-Hercegovina—today requested to take part in the work of the international conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is being held under European Community auspices. The two parties consider that the discrimination against around 26 percent of the electorate and more than a million citizens who did not turn out for the elections is impermissible.

The population of Bosnia-Hercegovina numbers around 4.36 million, of which Muslims account for 44 percent, Serbs 31 percent and Croats 17 percent.

Accuses SDA of 'Triumphalist Behavior'

AU0503144892 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN secretary general, is seeking guarantees in Sarajevo for the arrival of the headquarters of the blue helmets. Before the resumption of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, Dr. Radovan Karadzic [president of the Serbian Democratic Party] has stated that there will be talks in Brussels this weekend on geography and the competence of the ethnic regions in this republic. Ljubomir Nikolic has the details:

[Begin Nikolic recording] It is peaceful in Sarajevo today. Life is normal. People are trying to forget the dramatic events of the last few days as soon as possible. Life is going on.

Cyrus Vance, special envoy of the UN secretary general, arrived in Sarajevo at around 1300 and is holding talks in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency with leaders of the ruling parties with the intention of receiving guarantees from them for the safe arrival of the headquarters of the blue helmets. It is expected that after this Cyrus Vance will hold a news conference late this afternoon for the domestic and foreign reporters who are patiently awaiting the outcome of his meeting with the leaders of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action], SDS [Serbian Democratic Party], and HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community].

At a regular news conference this morning, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, SDS president, assessed the recent events as the logical and spontaneous reaction to the triumphalist behavior of the leaders of the SDA after the referendum.

It has been made normal in Bascarsija for criminals to attack Serbs and their symbols, Karadzic said. Those to blame for this crime are the leaders of the SDA and Alija Izetbegovic above all, who said that the referendum had settled the question of the status of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Izetbegovic is an unreliable discussion partner who changes his views and stands by the hour, and he did this after the meeting in Lisbon, Karadzic said.

According to him, the referendum does not mean anything. It particularly does not bind the Serbian people who, after the latest events, have asked the SDS for firmer stands and more decisive action for their protection. The Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina are now far more extreme than their party, and if no agreement is reached on the future organization of Bosnia- Hercegovina, no one will be able to envisage the development of events, Karadzic stressed.

He thinks that a unified Bosnia-Hercegovina no longer exists, and the only solution is the full national autonomy of the Muslims, Serbs, and Croats in this republic.

Dr. Radovan Karadzic told reporters today that the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina will resume this weekend in Brussels, and there will be discussion on geography, that is to say, the territorial delineation and jurisdiction of the future cantons. [end recording]

Over 100 Reservists Arrive in Capljina

AU0603115492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Report from Capljina for the "Midday Chronicle"]

[Text] The situation in Capljina is getting complicated, especially after the arrival a bit more than an hour ago of a group of some 100 reservists in the region of Dubrava, more precisely, Modric, which is in vicinity of the settlement of [place name indistinct].

As we were told by the Public Security Service in Capljina Information Center the arrival of reservists was not announced, which provoked great anxiety among the residents of this region. We were also told that the republican organs, who are still in the process of taking certain measures, were (?informed) of their arrival.

After yesterday's incident with four Divlje Brdo residents, the arrival of reservists provoked even greater anxiety among the residents. We are told that promises were made that the four young men from Divlje Brdo will be released.

This evening there were no incidents [words indistinct]. However, the situation is complicated and we appeal to the responsible military command to give advance notice of any movement of its units in order to avoid unnecessary troubling of citizens and we appeal to the residents of Capljina commune not to allow themselves to be provoked.

We would like to tell you that the talks about the newly situation with the responsible republican organs are under way and we again appeal to you to stay calm and not allow yourselves to be provoked.

SDS Leader Holds Sarajevo News Conference

LD0503153992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Report from Sarajevo by Slavko Rako]

[Text] Life in Sarajevo is proceeding at its normal pace, but the combined police and army patrols on the streets are a reminder of the barricades of the past few days, and there are increasingly frequent comments made that with the help of the barricades the army has legally come out onto the streets of Sarajevo and Bosnia-Hercegovina with the blessing of Izetbegovic.

According to reports from other areas of Bosnia-Hercegovina incidents are still taking place. The bridge at Zitomislici has been mined, explosions have been heard in Banja Luka, and in Kotor Varos one Muslim was wounded, causing citizens to gather in the streets. The sudden quietening of the situation is being linked by many to this afternoon's visit to Sarajevo by Cyrus Vance, but fresh threats came today from the news conference of the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka - SDS] which was held under the watchful vigilence of young men in plain clothes with automatic rifles over their shoulders. Journalists were handed a prepared statement which began with the statement that the solution of the Yugoslav political crisis is beginning to acquire the characteristics of a dramatic denouement in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and concludes with the assessment that it is essential for the official government bodies and the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] to take control into their own hands and put a stop to further chaos. The referendum, which means nothing apart from indicating the political mood, has engendered triumphant behavior among certain top officials of the SDA [Party of Democratic Action - Stranka Demokratske Akcije] which has spread to the streets, so that a Serb can be fined for carrying a Serbian flag, Radovan Karadzic said. The murderers of the Serbian wedding guest are those who created this atmosphere, Karadzic went on to say, stressing that following this act there is no longer a united Bosnia-Hercegovina. We did not hinder the referendum, after which Alija Izetbegovic stated that he controlled the whole territory of the republic, which is dishonest, Karadzic said, adding that they could have disrupted the referendum in 60 percent of the territory [of Bosnia-Hercegovina]. The so-called Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina exists unequivocally and it can, if necessary, take control in 66 percent of the territory, Karadzic said, indicating that he will soon reveal details of the real turn-out of citizens at the referendum, and that this will be a far lower figure than the official one.

With regard to the Serbian barricades, Karadzic said that there was nothing planned about the Serbian reaction to the murder in Bascarsija and behavior after the referendum, stressing that this was all spontaneous. In the same way he noted that we are witnessing uncontrolled processes that will certainly take their tragic course again if an agreement is not reached in Brussels on the internal organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and if Alija Izetbegovic continues to changes his mind every hour.

In reply to a journalist's question on whether there exists an SDS-HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community - Hrvatska Demokratska Zajednica] coalition, Radovan Karadzic said that it is not a case of a coalition, but of a current coincidence of interests, because neither Serbs nor Croats want a unitary Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is what Alija Izetbegovic wants so that he can be the only master of it.

Barricades Erected in Sarajevo Again

LD0503143192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] According to our correspondent, the barricades are going up again in the areas around Sarajevo. The Serbian inhabitants of Pale have erected barricades on the Pale-Sarajevo Road. A mixed patrol composed of personnel of Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Army was turned back at the roadblocks. In reaction, the police station in the municipality of Stari Grad, which borders on Pale and in which there is a majority Muslim population, has proclaimed a state of general alert and mobilized its regular and reserve police forces.

'Tens of Thousands' Demonstrate

LD0603095592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Report by Slavko Rako from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] Life in Bosnia-Hercegovina is slowly returning to normal. It is far from the usual and customary situation, but it is more peaceful and normal than over the last few days of barricades. Military and police patrols on the city's streets remind one of the barricades. After today's reports from the public security stations of Novi Grad and Stari Grad in Sarajevo that barricades have been erected on the road leading to the neighboring municipality of Pale, and that police reservists have been mobilized, the Pale security station announced: There are no barricades. Checks are being made on traffic on the outskirts of the municipality, in accordance with a decision of the so-called Serbian Autonomous Region of Romanija, it is said in Pale.

Otherwise, Sarajevo is witnessing a large peace meeting organized by Sarajevo radio's youth program, under the slogan "We are Walter" [reference to the defense of Sarajevo in World War II]. Tens of thousands of Sarajevo citizens have gathered at the protest meeting in front of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly, and are chanting slogans against barricades, arms, and division. There are many well-known musicians, singers, writers, and poets, but no politicians at the meeting. No security personnel are present at the gathering, and traffic has been diverted away from the section of the town around the assembly. [passage omitted]

Today too, however, there are incidents which continue to cause concern. There are still barricades near Sipovo, and barricades have also been erected near Kotor Varos. There has been an explosion in Banja Luka, and two in Bosanski Brod. One citizen was killed in Prijedor, and

two were injured near Crnac. Railway traffic was halted on the Mostar-Capljina line because of information that an explosive device had been planted. [passage omitted]

Kotor Varos Citizens Erect Barricades

LD0503202192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1701 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Kotor Varos, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—The Muslim and Croatian people of Kotor Varos have erected barricades on three access roads in this municipality following an incident in which Bajro Betic was injured.

Barricades were put up in Podbrdje, Vrbanjci, and Rujevci. Even seriously ill patients who are being treated by the Banja Luka Medical Center have not been allowed to commute.

Betic was injured by reserve soldier Stevo Djekanovic. The injury took place, as we have learned, after Bajro Betic's prolonged threats and assault on the reservist who was told that he was going to be disarmed and that military personnel had no business in Kotor Varos.

The armed Muslims and Croats are manning the baricades together with some 50 members of the paramilitary wing of the Croatian Party of Justice who are armed to the teeth. The Serbian population have responded by erecting barricades on three access roads, in Maslovari, Obodnik, and Grabovica. Since it is being demanded that the reservist should be sentenced to death by hanging and that any armed formation should be banned from entering this village, the Serbs manning their own barricades are saying that they will use force against force.

Pale Denies Rumored Plan to Attack Sarajevo

LD0503201592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1726 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—The National Defense Council of Pale municipality this afternoon denied frequent rumors of an alleged attack by the inhabitants of Pale on Sarajevo.

These rumors were spread today when a peaceful gathering is taking place in Sarajevo, and when the UN officials are visiting the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina. On behalf of the citizens of Pale, the Council has informed the inhabitants of Sarajevo that the inhabitants of the neighbor municipality are busy with their normal everyday affairs, and that they naturally have no intention of attacking anybody. It is obvious that the purveyors of chaos are trying to conceal the godfathers of our mutual misfortune on the day when the UN officials are visiting Sarajevo, the inhabitants of Pale said.

We are most energetically denying all rumors about an alleged attack by the inhabitants of Pale on anybody, including Sarajevo, the message of the Pale National Defense Council says.

'Crisis Headquarters' Control Town Areas

AU0603104492 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] The fragile cease-fire in Bosanski Brod is holding for the time being, although the town continues to be strictly divided into parts controlled by the Serbian commune of Bosanski Brod and the Crisis Headquarters that has taken over power from the organs of the Bosanski Brod Communal Assembly. Goran Jorganovic reports:

[Begin recording] [Jorganovic] The situation in Bosanski Brod is tense but peaceful this evening. The Crisis Headquarters led by president of the Croatian Democratic Community of Bosanski Brod [not identified] has taken over control in Bosanski Brod. According to him, the headquarters was formed because the present communal authorities were completely blocked.

We managed to obtain a statement by Armin Pohara, vice president of the Crisis Headquarters, this evening:

[Pohara] At the moment we are trying to organize a normal life so that life can start to function normally in the part of town that we (?completely) control, that is, the part in which the authorities setup by the Serbian commune of Bosanski Brod do not exist. We are doing our best to ensure that life normalizes and we are trying to maintain an absolute cease-fire.

There was a little incident today, when we were hunting for a sniper, which caused a bit of anxiety, and there was (?plenty) of (?shooting) in the town. We have completed this action successfully.

The Crisis Headquarters will continue to function until the situation completely normalizes. I would like to take this opportunity to appeal to our (?leaders) in Bosnia-Hercegovina to finally agree on the future of this country, as it is obvious that we cannot hope for any normalization of life in the smaller communities until they reach an agreement.

[Jorganovic] The Crisis Headquarters of the Serbian commune of Bosanski Brod this evening supposedly reported that legally and democratically elected organs of power in the town have been undermined and announced it will inform the republican organs of this. It is encouraging that both sides confirmed they will respect the agreement on a cease-fire and separation of the sides in the conflict. [end recording]

Protests Mirko Jelenic Removal

AU0503220292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] In Bosanski Brod, the Croatian armed forces of the National Guard Corps and the Croatian Defense Union [HOS] are [words indistinct] controlling traffic and people in the town. Zivko Savkovic reports from Bosanski Brod:

[Begin Savkovic recording] The crisis headquarters of the Serbian commune of Bosanski Brod has issued a statement which says: The Croatian Democratic Community and the Party of Democratic Action have carried out, with the aid of armed forces from the Republic of Croatia, the National Guard Corps, and the HOS, the undemocratic and unacceptable replacement of the legal president of the communal Assembly of Bosanski Brod, Mirko Jelenic. Violent behavior toward people and their property has been reported, and this generally relates to members of the Serbian nationality.

The crisis headquarters of the Serbian commune of Bosanski Brod is demanding that the forces which carried out this undemocratic act and the institutions of authority of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina ensure that Mirko Jelenic immediately return to his post. The crisis headquarters holds that force and weapons cannot be used to achieve the peace that is so necessary, nor be a solution for the problems of Bosanski Brod commune and the entire republic.

The crisis headquarters claims that these extremely undemocratic and violent acts once again show that the dirty intentions of the aggressive forces infiltrated from the Republic of Croatia are being achieved, which have the final aim of causing fratricidal war in this region and in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Armed members of the National Guard Corps and the HOS took over the militia station in Bosanski Brod yesterday and seized weapons and equipment. These armed people have been constantly searching the apartments of Serbs and confiscating hunting and other weapons. We have learned from unofficial but very reliable sources that from the oil refinery, the National Guard Corps has [word indistinct] arms and anti-aircraft material. After the cease-fire yesterday a [word indistinct] unit of the Croatian Army, which had taken part in an attack on Serbs, openly crossed the bridge into Slavonski Brod. [end recording]

Referendum Seen as 'Disturbing Episode'

LD0603112292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1008 GMT 6 Mar 92

[Commentary by Predrag Tolpa: "Referendum in Bosnia-Hercegovina—Bugle Call for Unrest"]

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 6 (TANJUG)—Something like calm has descended on the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today, although the people still fear a fresh outbreak of violence. Addresses by the republic's Serb and Moslem leaders were quick to restore peace to the republic, as it has turned out that nobody wants to repeat the experience of Croatia's civil war.

The people are in a state of shock and wonder if the clashes were really necessary at a time when a solution was in the offing following the mediation of the European Community and agreement on a cantonalization of Bosnia-Hercegovina reached by the republic's three national parties in Lisbon.

The possibility of the Moslems getting their own independent and sovereign state within the present boundaries of Bosnia-Hercegovina, even at the cost of antagonizing the others, has inflamed passions in the republic and led to disturbances where the national and the religious have been equated and have completely pushed aside the civil rights of the people.

The republic with a population of 4.3 million, comprising three major nations—Moslems, who account for 43 per cent of the population, Orthodox Christian Serbs (31 per cent) and Catholic Croats (17 per cent)—has been unable to avoid the swelling wave of separatism in Yugoslavia.

The riots in Sarajevo, which broke out after an attack on a wedding party and the murder of a Serb last Sunday, came in the wake of a referendum on independence for the republic, called by the Moslems. The Serbs boycotted the referendum in the certain knowledge that they would be over-ruled and placed in the position of a minority. They are particularly irked by the possibility of becoming a minority among their former brethren whom Tito's Communist regime has turned from a religious into an ethnic community.

Bosnia-Hercegovina President Izetbegovic's most democratic form of expression of the will of the people was opposed by the Serbs with the explanation that it was actually a national declaration. The Serbs insist that the republican Constitution provides for decisions of major importance to be taken by consensus of the three nations, and not a majority vote. Moslems themselves had refused to take part in a Yugoslav-level referendum, averring that they would be heavily over-ruled by the majority Serbs.

The Serbs' fears of being out-voted were confirmed by Alija Izetbegovic, when he said on television after the referendum that the battle for Bosnia-Hercegovina had been won and that the "people have decided against an internal division." This smacked strongly of an intention to deviate from the earlier agreement accepting a cantonalization along ethnic lines.

The republic's Croats voted in the referendum for the republic's secession from Yugoslavia only after they had received assurances that they would not be demoted to a minority. However, the euphoric statements of Moslem leaders that the referendum has assured the republic's independence and international recognition have awoken suspicion among the Croats.

Vlado Santic, a leader of the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, has accused the republic's Vice Prime Minister Muhamed Cengic of having provoked the Sarajevo unrest with his immoderate statements. Serbian leaders say that, by giving prominence to

the results of the referendum before consultations among the three nations, the Sarajevo press and television stations had encouraged Moslem extremists, who attacked the Serb wedding party and enraged the Serb community.

For the Moslem leaders, however, the shaitan are the Serbs. Following the practice tested and proven in the breakaway republics of Croatia and Slovenia, the Moslem leaders are seeking to disguise their inflexibility by painting on it the bogey face of alleged danger from the Serbs.

One of the Moslem leaders, Irfan Ajanovic, vows that the "danger" will be combatted with all weapons, and welcomes every support. He says he has already had offers and that help outside Bosnia-Hercegovina will come "also from the air."

Moslems further feel threatened by the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA), which has for some time been reviled in Bosnia-Hercegovina. At the same time, armed Croat extremists have for two weeks been holding under siege army barracks in Capljina and Novi Travnik, preventing food supplies to the army. The authorities in Sarajevo have ignored the provocations.

However, when the situation in Sarajevo two days ago threatened to get out of control and turn into bloodshed, Izetbegovic was quick to accept the army's help, regardless of all earlier accusations. The army formed joint patrols with the police and removed the barricades thrown up in the city. The army's action proved precisely what the Serbs have been trying to prove all along, that its deployment in Bosnia-Hercegovina before the attainment of a comprehensive solution is resisted precisely because, in the presence of all the armed ethnic and party militias, it is the only guarantor of peace.

That the referendum was no more than a disturbing episode which provoked unnecessary tensions and conflicts has been proven by the quick calming of the situation and the insistence of all sides that peace is possible only through reaching agreement on the principles of cantonalization and division of local authority on ethnic and economic lines. Following the unrest in Sarajevo and some other towns in the republic, it has become clear to all that, in the present situation and the conditions of heightened inter-ethnic distrust, any other solution in Bosnia-Hercegovina would lead to war.

Lisbon Agreement on Bosnia Interpreted

92BA0578A Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 25 Feb 92 p 4

[Article by S. Rakocevic-Novakovic: "What the 'Lisbon Document' Conceals"]

[Text] The original text of the working paper with which the three ethnic leaders returned from Lisbon at the end of this weekend is still being jealously guarded. The curiosity of the public was only partially satisfied by the announcement of Izetbegovic, Karadzic, and Lasic that they were bringing "gratifying news from Lisbon that there would be no partitioning of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] and its territory, and that all the rest was related to the internal restructuring of this state."

Aside from learning that with European sponsorship the three parties agreed on the indivisibility and territorial integrity of B-H, and to that end, making concessions to one another, also consented to the internal reorganization of B-H, which will honor ethnic grounds in such a way that autonomous units will be formed on the basis of the ethnic distribution of the population, and this, it is said, will eliminate domination of any nationality, very little is known for the present in any more detail about the "Lisbon document."

Nev·theless, from well-informed sources we have learned something more about reorganization of the constituent units of the ethnic communities in the republic. "The basic idea of the Lisbon document," so we have learned, "is rational decentralization, that is, division of powers between the joint authorities and the governments of the constituent units."

Judging by these terms, which, as we see, presuppose even "governments of the constituent units," it is evident that we are talking about a high degree of independence of those ethnic entities, which would have their own executive authority and local autonomy. Clear definition of the various powers would make B-H a law-governed state community in which rights and penalties would be strictly defined.

In that context, the "Lisbon document," it is interesting to note, offers the organization of a "special constitutional court on which, over a period of at least five years, a disinterested person would sit who is not from Bosnia-Hercegovina nor from the neighboring republics." That individual would see to the operation of the law-governed state in B-H from the constitutional standpoint.

The "Lisbon document" also offers decentralization of the police, the government administration, and the judiciary. Instead of confronting the ideas of an "ethnic" and "mixed" MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs], it offers (after the American model) what the Americans call the "state police," except that the administration, the police, and the local judiciary would reflect in the proportional distribution of their personnel the ethnic composition of the constituent units.

As for the future arrangement of B-H, judging also by what we have learned about the level of independence of the constituent units, it is clear that it will not be unitary. That is also obvious from the reference "that the B-H Assembly was spoken of in Lisbon as a bicameral parliament consisting of a chamber of citizens and a chamber of constituent units."

As far as we have learned, the chamber of constituent units would make decisions by a two-thirds majority,

which, according to the Europeans, would be a good remedy to prevent outvoting between the constituent nationalities in the joint bodies of the future state of B-H.

We have also learned that the "Lisbon document" has not resolved the question of the relations between the Serbs and Croats in B-H with their parent community Serbia and Croatia, which has been left to the Sarajevo meeting this Thursday, when it is likely that it will be possible on home ground to learn something more about the three-party, or, as some people like to say, agreements of the three ethnic communities, under the sponsorship of Europe.

Lisbon Accord Considered 'An Illusion'

92BA0578B Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by Miroslav Jankovic: "A Vizier in Bosnia"]

[Text] The little piece of paper from Lisbon is shaking Bosnia the way the wind shakes the plum tree. Before Lisbon, we know what Bosnia was like; just one day after Lisbon it looked different. Now it is the same once again. That notorious agreement in Portugal flickered as some kind of hope for just a day: Now, again, it is only an illusion, which probably is in essence exactly that.

What happened in the Portuguese capital was not clear to many people at first: An agreement on peace and division of Bosnia was reached by the heads of the three ethnic parties, who overlooked one glaring fact—that each of the three has problems in its own respective party similar to the problems Bosnia itself has with the three of them. That is, in making concessions to one another they overlooked that the right wing of their party would not in their place have accepted (much less granted) what they accepted as concessions from one another. The leaders saw that when they came back home and became all but ethnic traitors in the eyes of their extremists.

The Krajina people are dissatisfied with Karadzic's game in Lisbon, the MBO [Bosnian Muslim Organization] publicly, and the internal currents and lateral logistical parties half out loud, were accusing Izetbegovic in strong terms of a "shocking salto mortale" (Durakovic), while the Croatian side has been emphatically silent, because at this point they still do not know who actually constitutes the Croatian government in Bosnia, even though Mito Lasic officially "acted the part" in Portugal. As we write this article, meetings are being held of various party bodies and institutions, the game in Lisbon is being analyzed, glorious early victories are in sight... except there is a big question as to the outcome of all this. Karadzic will have to use the full extent of his authority to postpone (if he does) proclamation of the Krajina Republic, as he is expected to do by a Europe that Alija Izetbegovic is imploring to have done, complaining about Karadzic in a letter to Coutiliere.

But the most important fact is perhaps being overlooked in all this: Bosnia's drama today is actually some kind of desire on the part of Europe. The Lisbon document was written by Europe, which the Serbs, going back as far as Milos Obrenovic, have called "that whore Europe," whose true nature the Croats and Slovenes, stalled halfway on the national road, are just beginning to realize, and which gave Bosnia a shocking surprise in Lisbon. (Alija Izetbegovic: "Europe's position was a surprise to me.") Bosnia and its leadership, which wants it entire and sovereign, have constantly forgotten the fact that Europe has trampled on all the documents of international law and the documents of the Helsinki agreement and Conference on European Security and Cooperation, and coolly, because of its higher objectives of the moment and its accounts with Germany, liquidated Yugoslavia, which, to be sure, had given itself a thorough beating in advance. Nor could Bosnia have expected a better fate when it faced that political locomotive. Why?

Throughout all its varied history, Bosnia has existed entire and steady as a state only as a central and unitary political unit. Izetbegovic knows that quite well. In the Turkish Empire, it was among the worst pashaluks and constantly under the sharp saber of the vizier. During the old Yugoslavia, it was divided into three banovinas, and in the second Yugoslavia it was Piedmontese, an experimental communist state, none of which is left, and Bosnia is inevitably splitting apart into its components. Europe, it seems, demonstrated that logic in Lisbon—because there is no longer any powerful central authority at all in Yugoslavia and Bosnia to rule Bosnia, then perhaps some government from three ethnic centers will be able to govern it (B-H).

After all, the little pieces of paper that the ethnic leaders had in their pockets when they stole back from Lisbon also say that the entire conception of the dissolution of Bosnia also envisages the institution of a special constitutional court that would be headed by an individual who is not from the neighborhood, for a period of at least five years. That is, Bosnia would be placed under the protectorate of international law, or, as old people would put it: a new vizier is coming to Bosnia.

And we know about everything that happened in Bosnia when the vizier administered it and what it was like for the people. That is something to be feared, because we did not fear in good time everything we should have.

Croatia

Prime Minister Greguric News Conference

LD0503200992 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1003 GMT 5 Mar 92

[News Conference by Croatian Prime Minister Franjo Greguric; place not given—live]

[Excerpts] Respected ladies and gentlemen, colleagues and journalists, good morning. If you allow me, I would, in three main points, elaborate on a number of important issues which, in my view, should be mentioned at the present moment. After that I am at your disposal to answer you questions related to these three points, or any other topic.

The first point I wish to refer to is the functioning of the law-governed state. This has been in the focus of attention for some time now. My second point refers to the latest events in the republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the third to the issue of my government of democratic unity and problems surrounding it, to which the press has been devoting a great deal of attention recently. I thought these were issues that needed to be clarified for the sake of our public, and I would therefore like to speak about them in greater detail.

As far as the law-governed state is concerned I believe that most of you know that at a number of its sessions the government analyzed the rule of law, and that the government has always publicly insisted that it is necessary in a democratic state, in the Republic of Croatia, to protect the rights of all its citizens. I must, unfortunately, admit that this principle has not always been thoroughly observed, and that our relevant ministries responsible to ensure smooth functioning in this sphere have failed fully to execute their tasks.

In other words, criticism by some opposition parties and even by some of those who are in the coalition government with us, stands. I also approve of the criticism yesterday by the Croatian National Party [Hrvatska Narodna Stranka], and by some officials from the Croatian Democratic Community and others.

You see, in pursuing our serious task, in the war, we have failed to prevent break-ins into residential property, the destruction and the bombing of private houses and industrial facilities, and the plundering of citizens' property. Our appeals and decisions, which the Ministry for the Administration of Justice was supposed to enforce, have not been fully implemented, and the process from the filing of a suit to the trial of the person involved is either too long or the person is never brought to court.

Second, neither the Ministry of Defense nor the Croatian Army or the government will tolerate what has been happening, meaning, the destruction of buildings and industrial facilties. This is all the property of the Republic of Croatia, regardless of whether the owner is a Serb, a Croat or an Albanian. [passage omitted] The whole issue must be treated in a different and more serious way.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP] is also doing its work, perhaps in a more quality-based way than many others, but here too there are great problems, so I think that in general the government is facing the task of taking action, more seriously, and I would say more decisively, and taking a fresh step in recognizing the rights of citizens and public order and peace. And we will do this at the cost of replacing the individuals who are responsible for not doing their work properly.

We still have parallel armies, as well. And we still have cases of...[changes thought] I have the documents here, from which it transpires that commanders are being appointed outside the legal organs of the Croatian Army, and we are defending ourselves with the law-governed state, so if we are seeking a law-governed state, we will have to fully resolve these matters. [sentence as heard]

I want to say (?by this) that we are announcing a sharper course in this regard. Whoever wants to work on this, can, and whoever does not want to, will have to go. Or, if we are not able to do this, we ourselves will have to go. I do not see another solution, and I have to say that this is a firm decision from which there will be no deviation. There has been enough criticism, pseudocriticism, and declarations. I think it is now time for action.

Significant things have already been done by the government over the past few days. Last night in the crisis headquarters we adopted—and tomorrow, in the government, we will adopt—a decision and recommendation proposing to the president of the republic that the republican crisis headquarters and all crisis headquarters be abolished. We believe that the time has come for the legal organs of authority—the executive councils—which in essence have been crisis headquarters, to be obliged to take responsibility for the functioning of things in their areas, and where there is war, or where there is an unstable cease-fire, (?there) are commissioners, who are doing this again, but cooperation with the military-political authorities must be in keeping with their competence. [sentence as heard] I think this is also a vital contribution to democratisation in the area of the republic of Croatia.

You have heard that our president announced—and we will also propose—that all decrees which have the force of law and which regulated questions of civil rights in the area of the army, in the area of the police and in the area of information dissemination, are abolished. We did not achieve what we intended with the decrees. This can only be achieved by strengthening democracy, and by the responsibility of those who are responsible for it. [passage omitted]

Allow me to say a few words in this connection, but without the intention of saying everything about the government. There have been a good many combinations—Granic-Separovic, Vekic-Olujic, the departures of Tomac and Misetic, the departure of Greguric. I have said, and I say it today, (?things remain as they are) until further notice. However, I have to tell you, that in the context of these decisions, which I outlined under the first point, we have to draw up a list, and if we want to take this step forward into democracy, and strengthen democratization, there must certainly be corresponding personnel changes. [passage omitted]

I most regret that there have been more significant problems which have occurred with the pairing of Dr.

Granic and Mr. Separovic. You know that Professor Mate Granic came into the government from the post of rector of the medical faculty in Zagreb, placing himself at the disposal of the homeland at the most difficult moments. Over the last seven months he has accepted in a disciplined way the most difficult jobs, which were not simple, such as (?dealing with) those expelled, and refugees, and also negotiations which he was obliged to undertake. He has negotiated with the former Yugoslav Army and demonstrated his exceptional capability and results. Following international recognition, in the restructuring of the diplomatic corps, he accepted—also in a disciplined way—the proposal of the president of the republic to take on a new post—that of minister of foreign affairs, if this becomes necessary. It was agreed, starting from the optimal use of existing personnel, that the present minister, Separovic, be the ambassador at the United Nations, which minister Separovic accepted.

It is clear that this post cannot be made operational until Croatia is accepted into the United Nations, and this will not be, for sure, until the fall. So, Mr. Granic and Mr. Separovic will remain in their posts until that time. I want to say that Mr. Granic did nothing without proper consultation, and I regret that the statement in GLOBUS, or wherever it was, was not interpreted in a similar way. [passage omitted]

The third thing I want to mention relates to the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the calculations which there have been in connection with Bosnia-Hercegovina and the standpoints of the government of the Republic of Croatia, and what Croatia has done vis-a-vis this question. Calculations are one thing and facts are another. The government of the Republic of Croatia has always favored an integral Bosnia-Hercegovina, considering that in this way it would be making the biggest contribution to the resolution—a rapid resolution—of the difficult legacy in the area of former Yugoslavia and the Balkans.

This does not mean that in this way—something which is often wanted to be (?disregarded)—there is no concern for the Croatian population in Bosnia-Hercegovina. However, less concern is being shown about this if there is talk of (?the borders of) Croatia being on the Drina River. It was once, but today it is not realistic for it to be on the Drina, because it can no longer be on the Drina. Whoever says this does so in his own name, and not in the name of the official policy of the government of the Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted]

Armed Formations Refuse To Leave Nos Kalik

LD0603001792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2012 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Knin, Mar 5 (TANJUG)—The Croatian armed formations today did not leave the Serbian village of Nos Kalik and release the Serbian hostages, as they agreed to this morning with the mediation of the European Community monitors.

It was agreed this morning that, during the day, the Croatian forces leave the village of Nos Kalik, in the middle Adriatic hinterland and to release 28 villagers they took hostage when they raided the village on the night between March 2 and 3.

According to this evening's statement issued by the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) Knin Corps Information Service, the Croatian side sent word at 1300 local time (1200 GMT) that it changed its mind and would only agree to the exchange of prisoners. During their raid of the village, the Croatian terrorists destroyed property, set fire to Serbian homes and took 28 villagers away in an unknown direction.

The Knin Corps representatives tonight again demanded their unconditional withdrawal from the village and the release of all arrested villagers, assessing that the Croatian side deliberately occupied the village in order to "cause a larger scale incident with the aim of hampering the deployment of the UN peacekeeping forces."

The Knin Corps underscore that the corps will "take all measures in keeping with the provisions of international war law."

Dinar Devalued Against Mark, Dollar

LD0503183392 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Excerpt] Today's exchange rates of the Croatian National Bank shows us that some interesting—to say at least—changes have occurred on that list. The exchange rate for one German mark is now 67 [Croatian] dinars, and for one U.S. dollar 111.9637 Croatian dinars. Although this is obviously a devaluation of the Croatian dinar, there have been no prior announcements of that. So, we asked Ante Cicin-Sain, governor of the Croatian National Bank, to explain this. He talked to our colleague, Dusko Radic:

[Begin Cicin-Sain recording] This is the decision of the Croatian National Bank Council adopted after a detailed discussion of monetary and price developments during the first two and a half months after the introduction of the Croatian dinar. We discussed the entire problem and reached the conclusion that a certain correction of the National Bank's exchange rate is necessary. This was carried out so that the exchange rate was changed from 55 to 67 Croatian dinars to one German mark.

The question of whether this is called a devaluation or not is open; in any case this is a correction of the exchange rate caused by price changes, a price increase in the first two months, first two and a half months. Making this correction, we also took into account the latest changes in the price of energy sources and the expected rise of salaries. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Macedonia

President Gligorov on Recognition

92BA0568A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 22 Feb 92 p 22

[Interview with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov by Branko Jokic; place and date not given: "Recognition Is Here"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] The Macedonian leader on the merely postponed EC recognition, Greek pressure, and relations with Bosnia and Serbia....

Kiro Gligorov received us on a day when the eyes of the entire Macedonian public were on Lisbon. Specifically, they expected that the EC diplomats would decide to recognize the Macedonian state's sovereignty. This did not happen, however, and Gligorov commented on the news from Lisbon as follows:

[Gligorov] In view of the hue and cry being raised in neighboring Greece over recognizing the Macedonian state's sovereignty, I actually did not expect any different news from Lisbon. I am convinced, however, that nothing can prevent Macedonia's recognition any longer. The decision has only been postponed until the next meeting.

As far as the Greek position is concerned, let me say that it has to do with the fear of an imaginary danger, since it is superfluous to emphasize that Macedonia, as a small country without an army, cannot threaten anyone.

[Jokic] German Foreign Minister Genscher proposed that Macedonia be renamed the New Macedonian Republic, because he thinks that the Macedonian-Greek dispute could be smoothed over by such a compromise. What do you think of this?

[Gligorov] We have not yet received an official proposal for such a renaming. I do not see this as a solution. The difficulty is not in the name alone. If we ignore feelings, historical memory, and our attitude toward our own tradition, it is an indisputable fact that we have our own name and that no one has a right to demand that we change it.

[Jokic] In your opinion, was the postponement of the decision on recognition influenced by the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in addition to pressure from Athens? Perhaps they were intending to adopt such a resolution for both republics at the same time?

[Gligorov] It is possible, but that would not be just an additional cause, although I do not know why they would link the two, since even the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia was not linked to the recognition of Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. Macedonia meets all the conditions; I wish Bosnia-Hercegovina all the best in being recognized as soon as possible, and that will probably happen after the referendum in that republic. That is the normal sequence. All of that, however, should not be linked with Macedonia. The process of recognizing Macedonia has started. It is indisputable, and it can no longer be returned to its starting point. Above all, it is important that that is what the Macedonian people decided in the referendum. We have also adopted the constitution of an independent Macedonian state, the army will have almost completely withdrawn soon, and nothing that could bring us back to the starting point can happen any longer. Now we are already an independent and autonomous state.

[Jokic] To what extent was Macedonia's independence made possible by Slovenia and Croatia? One can hear the opinion that you only needed to set out on the path that was cleared by Slovenia and Croatia, but you are criticized personally for having even blocked their international recognition for some time.

[Gligorov] The independence of all the republics (who want it) is the product of joint action. We decided on independence from the very beginning; this is also demonstrated by the fact that as early as last January, we adopted a declaration on Macedonia's sovereignty. Then various initiatives occurred in succession, and I still think that there would not have been a bloody war and the outcome would have been different, if several of those initiatives had been accepted.

We were lucky enough to avoid a conflict with the army and Serbia, but it is especially important that interethnic conflicts did not break out in Macedonia. If that had not been the case, our independence would not have been possible, in spite of the processes that had already started in Croatia and Slovenia.

Of course, we are aware that all of that helped us, but what we undertook ourselves also led to the present solutions, since otherwise they could not have occurred.

I was never against the recognition of Slovenia and Croatia. If you have in mind my visit to Rome, let me say that what I emphasized there was precisely that they ought to recognize, as soon as possible, all the Yugoslav republics that met the conditions for it. Slovenia and Croatia were in a better position than Macedonia (which likewise met the conditions from the very beginning), because they did not have the kind of difficulties with their neighbors that we have.

To be sure, any model is dangerous as far as the path to a proclamation of independence is concerned. The realities for Macedonia are not such that it would be able to model itself directly after foreign experiences. The two Balkan wars started because of Macedonia, and many people wanted to divide it and break it up, on several occasions. Even now we have been threatened with such a danger. Because of all this, we did not dare to repeat the Kosovo mistakes. We adopted the path of political dialogue and coexistence with the ethnic minorities in Macedonia.

[Jokic] After mutual recognition with Croatia and Slovenia, will Macedonia have a special strategy in its future

relations with those states, different from its strategy toward the other members of the former Yugoslavia?

[Gligorov] We are very interested in cooperating as independent states. The first steps have already been taken in the area of cooperation with Slovenia. We agreed on payment transactions, and now we are also negotiating on this with Croatia. This cooperation should be strengthened, but at the same time, we should not give up anything that has been in effect even before now. Of course, we are also advocating cooperation with all the other republics of the former Yugoslavia. That idea has also matured on their part as well. Although we are no longer in the same state, there are plenty of reasons to cooperate, not just on the economic and political levels, but on the culture and humanitarian levels as well. After independence, we ought to cooperate more than we did when we were still together and when no one was satisfied with the mutual cooperation.

[Jokic] In view of that sort of (better) cooperation and the efforts of the opposition in Serbia and Montenegro, could a possible agreement on a community of (Yugoslav) states become topical again?

[Gligorov] Macedonia will not be a member of any sort of rump Yugoslavia. The kind of community that Mr. Izetbegovic and I proposed was possible before the outbreak of the war. I do not believe that anything like that would still be possible now. In view of the casualties, the destroyed cities and villages, and especially the hostility that has been inflamed between the opposing sides, there is no longer any hope for any sort of community of the states of the former Yugoslavia. It is realistic for all of them to be independent and internationally recognized (if they want to). This should also be done by Serbia—whether it is part of a community with Montenegro or not.

It would be good if the EC offered to cooperate with all the republics as independent states. Then all the republics would establish normal ties with the EC, and all the peoples would be guaranteed better prospects; at the same time, this would contribute to stabilization of the Balkans as a whole.

[Jokic] What are Macedonia's current relations with its neighbors like, not counting Greece? With Serbia, for example?

[Gligorov] There should not be any disputes between us, especially over territory and the Serbian population in Macedonia. All the statistical data from the last 30 years indicate that there have been about 44,000 of them and that they have not been densely settled anywhere (most of them are in Skopje). After the departure of the military officers of Serbian nationality, there will be even fewer of them in Macedonia. Consequently, the predictions that some sort of Serbian Krajina or autonomous region in Macedonia are an illusion.

Of course, Macedonia wants good relations with Serbia. The basis for this is the fact that the Serbs, in their first assembly in 1944, recognized Macedonia and the Macedonian people. Slobodan Milosevic, when I told him recently that Macedonia did not want to remain in any sort of rump Yugoslavia and that it would be an independent state, also said that Serbia would respect the Macedonian people's decision.

We also do not have to fear a dispute with Serbia because of the army's final departure from Macedonia. I have just received a letter from General Adzic with a proposal that we meet here in Skopje and reach a final agreement on several issues still in dispute. I think that the hints (or fear in some Macedonian public circles) that the army could return are unfounded, even though this should be viewed with reservations—since anything is possible in Yugoslavia.

[Jokic] Bulgaria was the first to recognize the independent state of Macedonia, but the Macedonian nationality question is still disputed.

[Gligorov] We also want to have the same relations with Bulgaria as with our other neighbors. All the speculations that Macedonia will be a second Bulgarian state are the work of Bulgarian chauvinists, but there are few of them. They still cannot give up the thought of forming some sort of Greater Bulgaria. I hope that this issue will finally lose its interest with the present and future democratic relations in Bulgaria.

[Jokic] Are disputes occurring in Macedonian politics in connection with this, and how do you view the activity of certain parties which are also threatening to remove you?

[Gligorov] So far there has been no official discussion of my resignation. In Macedonia all the political antagonisms and struggles are on the public political scene. It was with that working method that we adopted almost all the most important decisions that were crucial for the state's independence. They were adopted by a huge majority, with the votes of all the parties and all the nationalities. If that had not been the case, we would be at war now. We were only able to achieve peace and a halt to sending recruits to the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] with the full tolerance and cooperation of all the parties.

[Jokic] A great deal is being said about the sudden decline in the standard of living in Macedonia, and serious social tensions.

[Gligorov] The economic situation is not good. It is even deteriorating. I think that it is primarily because we are in the process of adjustment. This situation, however, does not differ from the situation in the other republics. The situation is even somewhat more favorable in Macedonia, since, for example, we have not suffered from the direct consequences of the war. We have suffered from high inflation and the precipitous printing of money at Topcider. We will soon get rid of that too, however.

[Jokic] You are thus not afraid of economic independence or a possible blockade from the north or south?

[Gligorov] The structure of the Macedonian economy gives us all the possibilities for independence that others who are deciding on a market economy also have. Of course, we also have the same difficulties as the East European states. I do not expect a blockade. They all have similar difficulties, and reason dictates that it is necessary to normalize economic flows as soon as possible. Pressure against Macedonia would not benefit anyone. For example, what has Serbia achieved with its sanctions against Slovenia? Where is the Serbian market's closure to certain types of goods from Macedonia leading? It is very shortsighted, and is causing harm on both sides.

It is true that we are now experiencing the worst economic pressure, which is being exerted by Greece. It is amazing that this is being done by a state that is a member of the EC. Of course, it is a consequence of the present feelings in that state. Their political atmosphere is modeled after the Serbian rallies, which is contrary to the obligations that Greece has to the EC and to its neighbors.

Concerning the claims about some sort of secret alliance between Serbia and Greece that is supported to be directed against Macedonia—perhaps there really were such attempts or initiatives for a meeting of the four Balkan states that had signed the Bucharest agreement to discuss the partition of Macedonia, but this did not go beyond attempts. Now the situation in Europe and in the Balkans is completely different, and consequently such alliances are impossible in the eyes of the world.

[Jokic] And to conclude the interview...?

[Gligorov] I must inform the Slovene public that I was delighted with the news of the establishment of a Macedonian-Slovene friendship society in Ljubljana. I welcome their initative to organized gatherings at Cankar House to explain the historical circumstances and the present difficulties that we now have with certain neighbors. At the same time, it is an opportunity for the Slovene public to become more accurately acquainted with why Macedonia achieved its independence somewhat differently.

Montenegro

Statement Issued on Bosnian Events

LD0503224192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1732 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Titograd, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—Discussing the development of recent events in Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Montenegro Presidency today decided to insist on the need for a tolerant, peaceful, and democratic search for a solution based on the agreement and consensus of all three constituent peoples. This implies, it was emphasized, a temporary as well as a permanent cessation of all hostilities on the territory of this republic.

It was announced that at its meeting today the Montenegro Presidency also acquainted itself with the results of the recent referendum on the constitutionally legal status of this republic. On the basis of the report by the Electoral Commission, the presidency noted that the referendum was carried out with full observance of existing law, thus expressing the legitimate will of the citizens to live in a common state—Yugoslavia.

In keeping with its constitutional powers, the presidency will continue to take the necessary actions to insure the consistent observation of the expressed will of Montenegro's citizens. To this end, it will submit specific solutions to the republican assembly in connection with the procedure to adopt the constitution of the common state and the new constitution of Montenegro to insure full equality of the republics and citizens of the common state.

Proceeding from the interests of Montenegro and the necessity of living together, the presidency especially insists on continuation of the political dialogue, especially with those sections of the political public which have been expressing mistrust about the level of protection accorded to their civil and especially national and ethnic rights.

Within the framework of the search for a comprehensive solution to the Yugoslav crisis, the announcement states, the presidency will inform the Conference on Yugoslavia about the results of the referendum and continue by its actions to contribute to a peaceful solution of the Yugoslav crisis.

Serbia

Serbian Radical Party Ready To Oppose Muslims

AU0503165192 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] The Serbian Radical Party has expressed its readiness to use all means to oppose Muslim fundamentalists in Bosnia-Hercegovina who, by harassing the Serbian people and by striving for independence, are trying to cause bloodshed and put the Serbian people in a very difficult situation. This is what party leader Vojislav Seselj said at a news conference. Here is a report by Vladimir Nikolic:

[Begin recording] [Nikolic] The president of the Serbian Radical Party is of the opinion that there are two options for solving the Bosnia-Hercegovina problem. The first one is for Bosnia to remain in Yugoslavia and the second one for its territory to be divided. In Seselj's opinion, any other solution will lead to bloodshed and civil war.

The Serbian Radical Party has taken some measures in this respect, and its envoys have contacted the committees of the Serbian Democratic Party in Bosnia-Hercegovina to prepare for the defense of the Serbian people. Seselj also spoke about 9 March demonstrations:

[Seselj] Regarding 9 March, not only are we not going to take part in the demonstrations or even show up, but we have also warned the regime not to send the police there. We also call on the people not to join. If it comes to riots, if violence breaks out in Belgrade streets, then one should intervene and use all means available.

[Nikolic] The president of the Serbian Radical Party condemned the organizers of the 9 March meeting for misusing the Serbian Orthodox Church and proposed that the liturgy for the people killed be held at some other time and not at the same time as the demonstrations.

Seselj expressed his protest about the Serbian authorities treating various trade union organizations differently. In his opinion, all trade union organizations must be equal according to the freedom to organize into trade unions. [end recording]

'New Yugoslav State' Expected by May

LD0603100992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1902 GMT 5 Mar 92

[Text] Belgrade, Mar 5 (TANJUG)—The new Yugoslav state made up of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, which other republics will be free to join should they so wish, will be formed by May at the latest, said Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic today.

During this period of one or two months the Yugoslav political crisis will finally be resolved, he said. Bozovic told Serbian businessmen that solutions for a new political and economic system were being finalized and that they would take into account the comparative advantages of the two republics that have decided to continue living together in Yugoslavia.

The concept of the new common state recently adopted by the parliaments of Serbia and Montenegro foresees common organs of authority, defence, monetary policy, foreign policy and a single economic market. Bozovic said that a group of experts is working on the basic elements of the new economic system, and with this goal in mind, they were reviewing many laws. Bozovic said the future economic system would be market-oriented, but would proceed from the current realistic economic and social processes in the country.

Planes, Arms Arrive in Croatia Despite Embargo

92BA0575A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Feb 92 pp 1, 9

[Article by Blagoje Komljenovic: "Croatia Is Getting Jet Planes"]

[Text] Two resolutions of the Security Council on the embargo against the sale of arms to Yugoslavia (No. 713 dated 25 December and No. 724 dated 15 December) continue, unfortunately, to be violated. And while we look with optimism toward the arrival of the "blue helmets," convinced that peace will permanently prevail in this earthquake-prone Balkan region, arms are reaching Croatia daily. The other day, Franjo Tudjman, commander in chief, boasted in public that they have 150,000 soldiers armed with the most up-to-date weapons for killing people.

When on 2 January our government sent to the United Nations a memorandum on noncompliance with the resolutions concerning the embargo, listing numerous specific examples of countries, firms, and individuals involved in this dirty business, protests came back to us concerning supposedly "fabricated" facts. We hoped that the public disgrace and new warning from the Security Council would influence the protagonists of the Yugoslav fire; however, what we have learned most recently refutes this. What is more, one would say that recognition of the sovereignty of Slovenia and Croatia was welcome to many people, and now they are delivering to the new states what until yesterday was concealed—tanks, airplanes, missiles, and launching ramps.

POLITIKA has managed to expose as an exclusive some of the numerous deliveries of arms and military equipment to Croatia since the beginning of this year. Thus, on 14 January two trailer trucks were dispatched from Basel, Switzerland, via Italy and Slovenia with dozens of Stinger surface-to-air missiles, mortars, and other equipment for waging war. The purchase was made in Germany and Switzerland through the firm BHM in Basel. The next day, this time from Zurich to Zagreb via Hungary, four vans were dispatched with small-arms ammunition. Also on 15 January a convoy of nine towed vehicles loaded with missile weapons passed from Austria through Novo Mesto.

Tanks continue to be sent from Germany to the Croatian fighting forces. In the port of Rijeka, on 22 January 32 armored vehicles manufactured in Germany were unloaded, and toward the end of last year (19 December) all of 80 tanks reached the same port from the same friend.

And then on 24 January a ship reached Rijeka with a shipment from the United States weighing 17.5 tons, and armament and military equipment to meet the needs of the Croatian Ministry of Defense were packed in the containers.

Missiles and Launching Ramps From Poland

On the night between 28 and 29 January, two transports were sent from Zurich to the NDH [Independent State of Croatia]. That train, which passed through Austria and Hungary, brought six tanks made in Germany, two "Pinzgauer" vehicles, and three ambulances. In addition, 23 military vehicles have been driven to Rijeka via Milan and Trieste.

Croatia concluded a contract in late January, with the Poles, with the consent of the official authorities of that state, to purchase 250 Strela 2-M missiles and 25 launchers for them. In order to deceive the world public,

the papers state that the purchaser is from the Philippines, and the transport would be made by an airline from Nigeria.

POLITIKA has learned from reliable sources that within days the Croatian Army will receive jet airplanes from its comrades in Europe and systems for antiair defense.

There are no longer any secrets about the armament of the Croatian ZNG [National Guard Corps] and MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs], as there was in the well-known scandal of Spegelj and Hungary, nor does this go anymore exclusively through the Astra import-export house, once headed by Dr. Franjo Greguric, the present prime minister. Numerous private firms have also specialized in this lucrative business; among them the best-known are Promedei, Como, and Ribomaterijal, all three in Zagreb.

The new Croatian government is most frequently importing armament and military equipment, usually a surplus in East Europe and NATO, from Austria, Hungary, Germany, Poland, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Panama, Argentina, Switzerland, and certain other countries, which do not pay too much attention to the embargo of the UN Security Council. By land, this evil arrives by way of Austria and Hungary, by sea it comes to the ports of Rijeka, Kopar, Split, and Ploce, and now it is coming more and more by air.

Misuse of Foreign Exchange Savings

Arms are not cheap; in fact, just the opposite is true. For example, the price of a Stinger missile ranges between $30,000 and $50,000, a Kalashnikov about $500, and almost every round fired costs 1 German mark [DM]. But so much of that has been imported and used so far in this bloody war! Truly, where does Croatia get all the money for this vice? Numerous Ustasha organizations all over the world long ago prepared and collected money for the resurrection of the NDH. The foreign exchange reserves of the republic and the foreign exchange savings of individuals have been misused. And certainly they have received abundant help from the banks of their allies: Deutsche Bank and Dresdner Bank AG in Germany, the Erste Osterreichische Sparkasse Bank in Austria, but they are not the only ones.

Numerous loans have certainly been taken from governments and international companies. The loan will be paid back, perhaps, even by selling parts of the Adriatic, which is being talked about more and more loudly. Independence, then, is not cheap—it brings glory to some, the debts and dependence remain for others.

[Box, p 9]

Firms Sending Arms

Firms in Austria and Germany that have been most involved in the purchase and deliveries of arms to Croatia include the following: Industry Enterprise, Meiz, Waggengrosshandel, Gebrueder Schoeler g.m. BG, DKS, Atlantic, Huertenbert, Scorpion International Services S.A., Xandil International LTD Consulting, Electric Dalland, Weba, Faba, Foga, and Franconia-Jagd.

Slovenia

Uranium Processing Technology Offered to PRC

AU0403133492 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 27 Feb 92 p 3

[Gregor Pucelj report: "Selling Merely the Plant for the Processing of Uranium Ore"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 26 Feb—Yesterday's information about the visit of Slovene Foreign Minister Dr. Rupel to China provoked a considerable response from the public, as it was, among other things, also reported that Rupel also offered "nearly the new technology of the Zirovski Vrh uranium mine" to the Chinese side.

We requested a more detailed explanation from Engineer Marjan Ursic, director of the Zirovski Vrh uranium mine. "As is known, the uranium mine has not been functioning for about a year and a half and is practically in the process of being closed down completely. That is why we are seeking new production programs for some of the mine plants. The plant for the processing of the uranium ore into yellow cake [rumena pogaca] is the most valuable, provided that it continues with the activities it was intended for. Therefore, it is understandable that we would be most pleased to get a buyer for it. Of course, this only means that if the Chinese decide to buy it, they would dismantle the whole plant, that is to say all of the equipment for the processing of the uranium ore into yellow cake, and take it away from the Zirovski Vrh uranium mine. In no case would our offer mean that such production would resume on the current location in the Zirovski Vrh uranium mine."

Eng. Ursic added that no special talks were held with the Chinese about the aforementioned offer. However, the Zirovski Vrh uranium mine informed the Foreign Ministry as well as other government departments of their problems and their search for a solution some time ago. The mine should actually thank Dr. Rupel for behaving in such a "businesslike" manner on the visits, like the one to China.

[box]

If the Zirovski Vrh uranium mine, that is to say, if Slovenia, succeeds in selling the entire technology for the processing of the uranium ore into yellow cake, it would make a profit of several million dollars. All other solutions—the last one being to sell the plant for scrap metal—would, of course, be considerably less profitable.

Slovene Shadow Government Ceases To Exist

AU0403143192 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 25 Feb 92 p 2

[Miran Lesjak report: "Shadow Government Closes its Dossier"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 24 Feb—The work of the shadow government has officially ended with today's news conference. Its president, Emil Milan Pintar, assessed the work favorably and said that the members of the shadow government managed to realize 40 to 60 percent of the tasks they had set for themselves.

The shadow government was formed 18 months ago. Only the Social Democratic Reform Party took part in the formation of the shadow government, while other parties did not wish to cooperate. Their attitude toward Pintar's shadow government was best demonstrated today when, despite the invitation, they did not attend the news conference. Emil Milan Pintar assessed the opposition's politics as petty and said that the result of such politics is proof that a multiparty shadow government is not possible.

[box]

Emil Milan Pintar also had to answer a question on whether it is true that he will join Pucnik's Social Democratic Party and become the party's vice president. Pintar said that he discussed his new party engagements with the representatives of several parties. After the talks with Dr. Joze Pucnik, he concluded that his party is the closest to him regarding party program, although he does not agree with Pucnik on many issues. The decision on Pintar's entrance into the Social Democratic Party is not final yet, as the prospective Pintar's party colleagues will also have some say about his membership. [passage omitted]

Kucan Commends Austria For Support

AU0503101492 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 5 Mar 92 p 2

[Erhard Stackl report: "Austria Was Slovenia's 'Gateway to the World'"]

[Text] Ljubljana—On 4 March, Parliamentary President Heinz Fischer and Peter Jankowitsch, state secretary for Europe and integration, arrived for an official visit to Ljubljana where they were very warmly welcomed by the Slovene state and government leadership. President Milan Kucan stated that during Slovenia's "critical period" of becoming a state, Austria was Slovenia's "gateway to the world." Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel emphasized the "privileged relations" with Austria.

Kucan stressed that Austria has nothing to do with the disintegration of Yugoslavia. The SFRY fell apart "because of internal reasons," and it is pure speculation to assign any role to Austria in this connection. In his reply, Heinz Fischer noted that Austria's good relations with Slovenia are not directed against anybody else, but that Austria would like to have such relations with all successor states of Yugoslavia. Austria has not been a party to the conflict but abides by the "European principles to seek independent, non-violent solutions." Kucan also spoke out in favor of finding a European solution to the Yugoslavia conflict in this spirit. Serbia, too, must be interested in guaranteed borders: Any solution that is strictly based on the principle of nation states is bound to create the danger of further conflicts, for example with the Albanian minority.